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AN ESSAY on SPIRIT,

WHEREIN

The Doctrine of the TRINITY

IS CONSIDERED

In the Light of NATURE and REASON;

AS WELL AS

In the Light in which it was held by the ancient *Hebrews:*

Compared alſo with the Doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament.

WITH

An INQUIRY into the Sentiments of the Primitive Fathers of the Church:

AND

The Doctrine of the TRINITY as maintained by the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoreans*, and *Platoniſts*.

TOGETHER WITH

Some REMARKS on

The ATHANASIAN and NICENE CREEDS.

Inanimatum eſt omne, quod impulſu agitatur externo; quod autem anima eſt, id motu cietur interiore, et ſuo.

CIC. Som. Scip.

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TO

HIS GRACE *****

MY LORD,

AS I am a Clergyman of the eſtabliſhed Church, and have for ſome Years been poſſeſſed of an Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, into which, before I could be admitted, I was obliged to ſubſcribe the four firſt Canons, which include my Aſſent to the Articles of our Religion, and alſo to declare publicly my unfeigned Aſſent and

and Conſent to all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common Prayer*: And, as I have not been ſo much employed about my temporal Affairs, but that I have found Leiſure to apply ſome Time to my Books, and to *think* as well as *read*; I find that I do not now agree exactly in Sentiment, either with my former Opinions, or with thoſe Perſons who drew up the Articles of our Religion, or with the Compilers of our Liturgy, and, in particular, with the *Athanaſian* Creed: And therefore I have laboured under ſome Difficulties, how to direct myſelf in theſe Circumſtances.

There was a Sermon preached, not many Years ago, by Dr. *Conybear*, before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which ſeems to have been approved of by them; and which hath ſince been reprinted in *Ireland*, wherein he aſſerts, that every one who ſubſcribes the Articles of Religion,

ligion, does thereby engage, not only not to diſpute or contradict them; but that his Subſcription amounts to an Approbation of, and an Aſſent to the Truth of the Doctrine therein contained, in the very Senſe which the Compilers thereof are ſuppoſed to have underſtood them: That they are not to be conſidered as Articles of Peace, but of Doctrine, as the very Title denotes, which is, *For the avoiding Diverſities of Opinions, and for eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion.* Whereas I apprehend any Attempt towards avoiding Diverſity of Opinions, not only to be an uſeleſs, but alſo an impracticable Scheme; ſince I do not only doubt whether the Compilers of the Articles, but even whether any two *thinking Men* ever agreed exactly in their Opinion, not only with Regard to All the Articles, but even with Regard to any One of them; ſo that if they were to give their own Interpre-

tation of them, there would be found as many different Sentiments as there were Interpreters: The Difference indeed would not always be great; but ſtill there would be a Difference.

I ſaid *thinking Men*; for, as to the unthinking Herd, whatever was the Creed of their Father, or Tutor, that will be theirs, from their Infancy, to their Lives End; and accordingly, whatever Country you go into, let the Religion be what it will, the unthinking Part thereof are always the reputed Orthodox.

An *Uniformity of Profeſſion* may indeed be both practicable and uſeful; and ſeems in ſome degree to be neceſſary, not only for the Preſervation of Peace, but alſo for the general Good and Welfare of Society: Since I do not conceive how any Society or Commonwealth can ſubſiſt, unleſs ſome Form

Form of Religion or other be eſtabliſhed therein; as well with regard to Points of Doctrine as Diſcipline; which however ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental, as poſſible. And as no eſtabliſhed Form of Religion can ſubſiſt, unleſs that Form be publicly made known, and the Teachers thereof are laid under ſome Obligation, either by Subſcription or otherwiſe, of complying with that Form, and of not preaching, or publicly teaching, any Doctrine contrary thereto; ſo, I own, I do not ſee any Manner of Impropriety in the Legiſlative Power of any Society inſiſting upon ſuch a kind of Subſcription, as is only required to be made for Peace-ſake, and the Preſervation of the outward Forms of Society: Since a Man under theſe Circumſtances may, for prudential Reaſons, honeſtly ſubſcribe and ſubmit *to the Uſe* of one eſtabliſhed Form, though he, in his own private Opinion, may think another to be

better; provided that he is not obliged to ſubſcribe any thing ſinful; or ſo diametrically oppoſite to Truth, as that he cannot poſſibly put any other Conſtruction upon it.

The firſt Subſcription, that I know of, was ſet on foot at the Council of *Nice*, when the famous Conteſt about the Trinity was determined in Favour of the *conſubſtantial* Doctrine, by a Majority of near Twenty to One: To which the Emperor required all the Biſhops then preſent to ſubſcribe. But then he allowed every one to put their own Senſe upon the Word *Conſubſtantial*, and not the Senſe that was intended by the Compilers of the Creed: And accordingly, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, though he at firſt refuſed ſubſcribing, yet when he was allowed to interpret the Word *Conſubſtantial*, as meaning only, *that the Son was not of the ſame Subſtance with the Creatures*

Creatures that were made by him; he then ſubſcribed it, and ſo, in a little Time after, did *Arius*.

Peace was what the Emperor wanted, and therefore he was content with Peace: But from the Time that Power was put into the Hands of the Church of *Rome*, implicit Faith and Obedience to her infallible Determinations being what ſhe required; unleſs Subſcriptions were then to be underſtood as made according to the Senſe of the Compilers of the Articles, the Recuſants were anathematiſed, and Fire and Faggot was the Word.

But as I apprehend that the Church of *Ireland* doth not ſet up for Infallibility, I do not think that ſhe requireth any other Kind of Subſcription than ſuch as is neceſſary for Peace and Quietneſs: And therefore I am now not much diſturbed upon this Head. I

likewiſe find by the Words of the Act of Parliament, which enjoins the Declaration of our "Aſſent and Conſent "to all Things contained in *The Book* "*of Common-Prayer*," that the Purport and Intent of the Act is, that this Declaration of Aſſent ſhould be only *to the Uſe of* thoſe Things which are contained in the ſaid Book, which is very different from aſſenting to the Things themſelves; and therefore I am pretty eaſy alſo with regard to this.

How theſe Words, *to the Uſe of*, came to be omitted out of the expreſs Form of Words that are ordered to be read in Church for a legal Qualification, I cannot ſay, nor whether they were omitted out of Neglect, or by Deſign; but I own it ſeems to me, when I conſider the Humour of the Times when that Act was made, that it was done with Deſign; as a Snare, to oblige poor

poor (1) conſcientious Men, who did not read the Act of Parliament at length, to give up their Livings, rather than declare their "unfeigned Aſſent "and Conſent to all and every thing "contained in *The Book of Common-* "*Prayer.*" For it is to be obſerved, that this Condition was not required by the *Act of Uniformity*, as publiſhed in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, but was an Addition made thereto, after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the Nation was, as it were, mad with the Joy of having recovered its ancient Conſtitution both in Church and State: The little Oath therefore, wherein it was declared, *that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King*, was at the ſame time inſerted into the *Act of Uniformity*. Which Part of

(1) And accordingly, there were 1800 Perſons that were actually deprived of their Livings, rather than ſubmit to the Terms preſcribed.

that Act hath been ſince repealed; and indeed I cannot but ſincerely wiſh, that the other Addition, which was made at the ſame time, was ſo far rectified, that the Words of the Declaration ſhould be made to correſpond with the Deſign of the Act, which manifeſtly was, to require the Declaration of Aſſent and Conſent only *to the Uſe of* all and every thing contained in *The Book of Common-Prayer*. Becauſe I think that That ſolemn Declaration which a Clergyman is obliged to make in the Preſence of God and his Congregation, when he is going to take upon himſelf the Care of their Souls, ought to be ſimple, poſitive, plain; free from all Ambiguity or Doubtfulneſs; and ſhould be expreſſed in ſuch a Manner, as that it cannot be miſunderſtood, either by him, or by the Congregation; but that he may ſafely and honeſtly make it, according to that *plain and ordinary Senſe of the Words*, in which they would

would *commonly be underſtood* by all Mankind, *without any Evaſion, Equivocation, or mental Reſervation whatſoever*; that is, without any latent Reference to the Intention of the Act, which is not expreſſed in the very Words of the Declaration.

And indeed I am the more deſirous of this, becauſe I know for a Certainty, that ſome of the moſt learned and conſcientious Perſons among the Diſſenters, have made the Form of our Declaration of "unfeigned Aſſent and Con-"ſent to All and Every thing con-"tained in *The Book of Common-"Prayer*," an Objection, if not the principal one, againſt coming into our Church.

As alſo becauſe ſome of our own Brethren, who conſider Subſcriptions in the ſame Light with the bigotted Members of the Church of *Rome*, and probably

probably never read, or never duly conſidered the *Act of Uniformity*, have taken Occaſion, from that Form of Declaration of Aſſent, to brand thoſe, who preſume to doubt, or differ from them in any of their imaginary orthodox Notions, with the Imputation of Perjury, or, at leaſt, of Hypocriſy.

But though we ſhould ſuppoſe this was done, and that Subſcriptions were declared to be only required for Peace-ſake; yet there is ſtill a Difficulty which remains behind, with regard to thoſe who do not approve of all the Articles of the eſtabliſhed Religion, or of every thing in the Liturgy; becauſe it is natural for them to deſire, that thoſe Things, which they take to be Errors ſhould be amended; and yet it is found by Experience, that whoever attempts to find Fault with the Canons or the Articles of Religion, or the eſtabliſhed Form of Liturgy, becomes immediately a Diſturber

ſturber of the Peace of the Church, as he is ſure, at leaſt, to be loaded with the opprobrious Name of *Schiſmatic*, or *Heretic*, which, ever ſince the Days of *Popery*, are Sounds that occaſion wondrous Horror in the Ears of the Vulgar.

Whoever conſiders the Difficulties which attend the Reformation of Religion in general, and, in particular, the Difficulties which attended theſe Nations in their Reformation from *Popery*, ought to thank God that ſo much was done at that Time as was done, rather than repine that more was not effected. The Humour of the Times would not ſuffer a more thorough Reformation; theſe Nations having been ſo long accuſtomed to a Kind of utter Darkneſs, that their Eyes would not bear too much Light to be let in at once.

Chriſtianity

Chriſtianity was not eſtabliſhed, nor the *Jewiſh* Religion thoroughly reformed, all on a ſudden. After St. *Paul* had been many Years a Preacher of the Goſpel, he complied with the *Jewiſh* Ceremony of (2) *ſhaving his Head in* Cenchrea, *becauſe he was under a Vow*; and of (3) purifying himſelf at the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, rather than give Offence to the *Jews*. And the whole Council of Apoſtles, when aſſembled at *Jeruſalem*, aſſented to enjoin thoſe (4) *Jewiſh* Proſelytes, who, from among the *Gentiles*, were turned unto God, to continue for ſome Time under a Prohibition from eating Things ſtrangled, and from Blood, which hath been long ſince diſcontinued. And our Saviour himſelf was pleaſed to declare, that he concealed many Truths, till

(2) Acts xviii. 1.
(3) Acts xxi. 24.
(4) Acts xv. 19. xx. 29.

the

the Diſciples ſhould be *able to bear them*, John xvi. 12.

The preſent Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms, both in Church and State, is, in my ſincere Opinion, the beſt in the known World; but I will not ſay, that it is not capable of being ſtill further amended. What then is to be done? For if the Church be not infallible any more than the State, why may not that be amended as well as the State? And why ſhould we be more afraid of breaking the Peace of the Church than of the State? The Peace of the one being full as neceſſary to be preſerved as the Peace of the other.

The *Chriſtian* Religion was, at its firſt Propagation, called a (5) *Hereſy*; and therefore (6) St. *Paul*, in his Apology to *Felix*, ſaid, *This, I confeſs, that*

(5) Acts xxviii. 22.
(6) Acts xxiv. 5, 14.

after

after the Way which they call HERESY, *ſo worſhip I the God of my Fathers.* Which Denomination was continued to it, ſo long as to the Time of *Conſtantine* the Great, who, in his Epiſtle to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſe*, calls the *Chriſtian* Religion the (7) *Catholic Hereſy:* Which Letter was written after the Emperor had declared in favour of *Chriſtianity*.

Αἵρεσις, according to *Stephens*, ſignifies, in general, the ſame thing with the *Latin* Words *Secta* and *Dogma*, that is, a *Sect* or *Opinion*. And accordingly he reckons up ten Sects or Hereſies of the antient Philoſophers. But among the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſays he, it ſignifies an Opinion, or *Sect that is contrary to the orthodox Faith*. But as the eſtabliſhed Religion of every Country is that which conſtitutes *Ortho-*

(7) Τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς. Euſeb. *Hiſt. Eccl.* lib. x. cap. 5.

doxy,

doxy, according to the common Senſe of the Word; hence it is, that they who differ and ſeparate therefrom are generally called *Hereticks*; and hence it comes to paſs, that a Perſon may be eſteemed as very orthodox in *England* or *Ireland*, who would be deemed as an Heretic at *Rome*, or in other Countries. And for the ſame Reaſon it was, that the *Chriſtians* were at firſt called *Heretics* in *Judæa*, becauſe they ſeparated from the *Jewiſh*, which was the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Country; and were alſo called *Heretics* in *Rome*, becauſe they refuſed joining with the eſtabliſhed Religion there.

It is therefore poſſible that an Heretic may be in the right; according to the original Senſe of the Word. It is alſo poſſible that he may be in the wrong. And therefore St. *Peter* ſays, (8) *There are falſe Teachers among you*,

(8) 2 Pet. ii. 1.

who

who privily ſhall bring in damnable Hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them. And St. *Paul* ſays, (9) *I hear there are Schiſms among you; and I partly believe it: For* THERE MUST BE ALSO HERESIES, *that they which are approved may be made manifeſt.* Now there is no other Neceſſity for Hereſies being among them but this: That God did not frame human Nature in ſuch a Manner as to neceſſitate all Men to be of one Mind; but having made Mankind to be free Agents, he *left them in the Hand of their own Council,* to chuſe their own Opinions for themſelves; according to the Merit or Demerit of which Choice, they will be proper Subjects for Rewards or Puniſhments. And therefore, while this Conſtitution of human Nature remains, *there muſt be* Schiſms, Diviſions, Hereſies, or a Diverſity of Sects among them. And as all Mankind think

(9) 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. them-

themſelves to be in the right, ſo they naturally conclude all thoſe who differ from them to be in the wrong; and hence it comes to paſs, that the Word *Heretic* is generally uſed in a bad Senſe, though becauſe a Perſon is an Heretic, or is of a different Sect from the eſtabliſhed Religion, it does by no means follow, that therefore he muſt be in the wrong. If the Perſons from whom he differs ſhould be infallible, as it is allowed the Apoſtles were, then indeed it would follow, of conſequence, that the Heretic or Separatiſt muſt be in an Error. And if, after Inſtruction and Admonition, he will not amend, it is then fit he ſhould be ejected, or excommunicated out of the Society of the Faithful, leſt his Exemption from Puniſhment ſhould give Encouragement to the Seduction of others; for though it cannot be ſuppoſed that his Excommunication will amend himſelf, yet it may contribute to ſave other Perſons.

And

And hence it is, that St. *Paul*, in his Advice to *Titus*, ſays, *A Man that is an Heretic, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject; knowing that he that is ſuch, is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf.* Which Admonition and Rejection ſhews the Crime of Hereſy to conſiſt in an Error of the Will, rather than of the Judgment; for otherwiſe *Titus* would have been directed to inſtruct ſuch a Perſon, rather than to admoniſh him. But as it is to be ſuppoſed that Information and Inſtruction would be firſt tried by *Titus*, even before the firſt Admonition, therefore it is the Perverſeneſs of his Will, in ſtill perſiſting in his Sect or Hereſy after Admonition, that ſeems to be the Cauſe and Foundation of his Excommunication: For, ſays St. *Paul*, ſuch a one is *ſubverted* from the Faith, and *ſinneth*, by perſevering therein after Admonition; and is *ſelf-condemned*, as having

having no Excuſe of Ignorance to plead after his being admoniſhed thereof: He may indeed not be *ſelf-condemned* with regard to his Error, becauſe he may not be convinced that he is in an Error; but may think himſelf to be in the right, when he is in the wrong: Whereas, with regard to his Hereſy, or Separation from the Church to which he belonged, he cannot be ignorant thereof, after Admonition, for differing from the Senſe of the Church; and therefore if he perſiſts therein after being admoniſhed, he muſt be *ſelf-condemned*, with regard to his Perſeverance in oppoſition to the Church.

And as every legiſlative Power is ſo far infallible, as it is the dernier Reſort, and only Judge now left upon Earth, of what is right and wrong, within the Limits of its own Juriſdiction; therefore when any Form of Religion hath been once eſtabliſhed, they who ſepa-

rate

rate therefrom, or act in direct Oppoſition to its Commands, are to be treated as if ſuch legiſlative Power was infallible; and if they will not ſubmit, upon Admonition, are to be rejected, to prevent others from being ſeduced, and to preſerve the Peace of Society.

By which Rejection, or Excommunication, I do not mean an Excluſion from Civil Rights, and the Protection of the Civil Magiſtrate, but only from the outward and viſible Communion of the Church, and its faithful Members, and all the particular Benefits which properly belong thereto, or may reſult therefrom; from which, as it is by their own Choice that they differ, in diſobeying its Rules, or rejecting its Communion, it can be no Injuſtice that they ſhould be excluded, if they ſtill perſiſt in their Diſobedience after Admonition.

Since

Since therefore it appears, that a Man's being of a wrong Opinion is not that which properly denominates him an *Heretic*, but rather his being of a different Opinion from the Majority; one would be apt to wonder, why that Word, in general, ſhould have ſo bad an Idea annexed to it; but that the Anſwer thereto is obvious, *viz.* That it ariſes from our having too great a Fondneſs for ourſelves, and our own Opinions; and too great an Averſion to thoſe who differ in Opinion from us.

There is indeed no Reaſon to be aſſigned in general, why Men ſhould be more diſpleaſed with one another for being of different Opinions, than for their being of different Sizes, or for having a different perſonal Appearance. And were it not that Experience convinces us of the Matter of Fact, it would be hard to believe that Men's

Paſſions could carry them to that Degree of Animoſity againſt each other, on account of Opinions barely ſpeculative, which we find practiſed in all Countries, and almoſt all Ages.

I can very well conceive why Men ſhould contract an Averſion and an Hatred for one another about Opinions where their temporal Intereſts are concerned; and do not wonder, when I read, that (1) *Demetrius* the Silverſmith raiſed a Tumult againſt *Paul* at *Epheſus*, for ſaying, that *they be no Gods which are made with Hands*, becauſe by this bold Aſſertion, as *Demetrius* acknowledged, this *Craft* was in Danger to be ſet at nought, and, *ye know, Sirs*, ſaid he, *that by this Craft we have our Wealth.*

But it is not ſo eaſy to account why one Man ſhould bear an ill Will to his

(1) Acts xix. 24.

Neighbour,

Neighbour, or any of his Fellow-Creatures, for being of a different Opinion from him in Matters barely ſpeculative, in which the other is no way concerned, further than as he is a (2) Man, and a Lover of Mankind. In which Reſpect every Body ought to be ſo far concerned for his Fellow-Creature as to do all that lies in his Power to contribute to the Happineſs of each other; but then this is to be done in a proper, kind, and friendly Manner: And, if that will not prevail, contrary Methods ought by no means to be attempted; ſince that Principle which directs us to uſe all Men well, can never vindicate us in uſing any Man ill.

If one Man is a *Chriſtian*, and another is a *Jew*, *Turk*, or Infidel, of any Denomination, there can be no more Reaſon for having a Diſlike upon that

(2) *Homo ſum, humani nihil à me alienum puto.*

account to each other, than becauſe they were not all born in the ſame Country, or bred up under the ſame Tutor, or do not all ſpeak the ſame Language; ſince ninety-nine in an hundred of thoſe who are *Chriſtians*, would probably have been *Mahometans*, if they had been born in *Turkey*, and would have imbibed their Religion, as they do their native Tongue, along with their Mother's Milk: And the ſame may be ſaid of *Jews* or *Mahometans*, that they would have been *Chriſtians*, if they had been born in a *Chriſtian* Country, and of *Chriſtian* Parents.

If it pleaſes the Almighty to endow one Man with a better Underſtanding, or greater natural Abilities of any kind, than his Neighbour, to appoint the Place of his Birth, where he has better Opportunities of being informed in true Religion, or to produce him from ſuch Parents as will take Care that he

is

is better educated in the Paths of Virtue; theſe are Bleſſings for which he ought to be thankful to his Creator; but are far from being any Reaſon why he ſhould bear an Ill-will to thoſe Perſons, who have not received the ſame Advantages from Providence; or why he ſhould not live in a kind and neighbourly Manner with them, though he thinks them in an Error with regard to their religious Principles.

And yet Experience convinces us, that the Conduct of Mankind is quite otherwiſe; which can be attributed to nothing but a vicious Pride in our Nature, which makes us not content with the Applauſe of our own Conſcience, when we think ourſelves in the Right, unleſs we have the Applauſe of others alſo: And renders us ſollicitous to gain Followers and Admirers, at the ſame Time that it gives us an Averſion for

every one that differs in Opinion from us.

Athanaſius, in anſwer to this Queſtion. Πόθεν λέγεται Αἵρεσις; *unde dicitur Hæreſis?* ſaith, Ἀπὸ τῦ αἱρεῖσθαί τι ἴδιον, καὶ τῦτο ἐξακολουθεῖν, *Ab eligendo & proſequendo ſententiam ſuam privatam.* So that the conceiving of Error is not that which conſtitutes the Crime of Hereſy, but the proſecuting and perſevering in it, to the raiſing of a Party, and exciting *Followers*, whence alſo the Word *Sect* is derived; and for this Reaſon it is that St. *Paul* reckons up *Hereſies* among ſuch (3) Works of the Fleſh, as *Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Envyings, Murders, and ſuch like*, as it is near of Kind to them, and may be the Foundation and Cauſe of them.

(3) Gal. v. 20, 21.

What

What then is it the Duty of any Perſon to do, who is the profeſſed Member of any eſtabliſhed Church, if he ſees, or imagines he ſees, any Errors, either in the Doctrine or Diſcipline of that Church? Muſt he, for fear of diſturbing the Peace of the Church, and being deemed a Schiſmatic, or Heretic, ſit down quietly, and not endeavour to ſet them to Rights? Or, muſt he fly off, and ſeparate immediately from it?

As to the Firſt, if Men were not to declare their Opinions, in ſpight of Eſtabliſhments either in Church or State, Truth would ſoon be baniſhed the Earth. Error puts on ſo much a fairer Outſide, ornaments itſelf with ſo many plauſible Appearances, and comes loaded with ſo many Bribes to tempt us from our Duty; that, if Truth did not ſometimes ſhew itſelf, and exert its

Abilities in its own Defence, the World would be ſoon over-run with Error, as an uncultivated Garden with Weeds. Of which the Experience of Times paſt is ſufficient to convince us, by the Growth and Continuance of Errors in the Church of *Rome*, from the Time that the Bible was ſhut, and the Court of Inquiſition opened.

And as to the Second, whoever he is who thinks he ought to ſeparate from that Church, wherein he ſees ſome Errors, if it will not immediately reform and amend them; and thinks it his Duty to refuſe joining in Communion with any Set of Men, till he meets with a Conſtitution, either in Church or State, that is abſolutely free from Errors; ſuch an one, I fear, is not fitted for this World, but muſt live by himſelf, till he is conducted into a Society of Angels.

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In my Opinion, therefore, the middle Courſe is that which he ought to purſue, which in this Affair, as well as moſt others, is certainly the beſt.

Let us conſider how a Perſon in like Circumſtances, with regard to the State, ought to conduct himſelf; and this may perhaps determine our Behaviour with regard to the other. For we generally talk more calmly, as well as more rationally, concerning the Affairs of the State, than of the Church.

Suppoſe a Perſon ſees any Errors in that Conſtitution of Government under which he lives; may he not, ought he not to lay his Opinion before the Legiſlative Powers of that Society, in order to procure an Amendment of it? I think he ought. But then he ought at the ſame time, unleſs in Caſes of the utmoſt Neceſſity, where the Vitals of

the Conſtitution are in Danger, not only not to deſert the State, though the Amendment ſhould not be made; but alſo to avoid raiſing *Parties* or *Factions* in the State, for the Support of his Opinion; which in the Eccleſiaſtical Style, would be called *Hereſies*.

But to this it is objected, that here the Parallel will not hold, becauſe Men's temporal Intereſts will reſtrain them from overturning the Eſtabliſhment of the State; whereas too many would be very glad to have the Eſtabliſhment of the Church quite ſet aſide. It may therefore be dangerous to begin with making Alterations or Amendments in the Church, leſt thoſe Scaffoldings which are erected for Repairs, ſhould be made uſe of to pull down the whole Fabric.

With humble Submiſſion however to theſe cautious Gentlemen, I am under leſs

leſs Apprehenſion for the Church than for the State: For, as to the *Chriſtian* Religion in general, we have the ſure Word of Prophecy, that *the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* And as to particular Eſtabliſhments, I ſhould apprehend, that the freer they were from Errors, the more likely they would be to ſtand. At leaſt, I ſhould think it would be right to run ſome Riſque, and place ſome Truſt in the Providence of God, rather than let Errors of any Conſequence remain.

But, ſay they again, *Truth is not to be ſpoken at all Times.* Which I will allow ſo far, as to acknowledge, that Prudence and Temper is to be made uſe of even in the Publication of Truth; but not that Truth may be concealed for ever, under the Pretence, that the Publication of it at preſent would be out of Seaſon; for if Error may be ſafely eſtabliſhed, and Truth concealed,

concealed, how can we vindicate all that Outcry that was made by *Proteſtants* againſt the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, &c? Since it is manifeſt, that before the Reformation took place, the ſame Arguments were then made uſe of againſt any Innovations in Religion that are now. And all Alterations in the eſtabliſhed Form of Worſhip were then as much declaimed againſt by the Eccleſiaſtics of thoſe Days, as they can be at preſent.

I am not againſt joining the Wiſdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove: But I would not have the Wiſdom of the Serpent without the Innocence of the Dove. Let us be as wiſe as poſſible in defending what is right in our Eſtabliſhment, but let us not exert the ſame Wiſdom in defending what is wrong. But, above all, let us, in the Name of God, take care, that our Foundations

Foundations be clear, and that our Articles and Creeds are free from Error.

The Author of theſe Papers, though he hath addreſſed them to Your GRACE, is very ſenſible, that it is not in Your Power, nor in that of all the Eccleſiaſtics of the Land, to alter the eſtabliſhed Form of Worſhip; he knows, that the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which it depends, and of which our Liturgy is a Part, was paſſed into a Law, by the joint Conſent of the three Eſtates of the Realm; and he truſts in God, that he never ſhall ſee the Church independent on the State.

But, my LORD, though the Biſhops and Clergy, either in or out of Convocation, cannot redreſs, yet they may recommend; the Author, however, cannot but remark, that he does not recollect any Inſtance in Hiſtory, ſince the Times of the Apoſtles, where the Reformation of Religion

Religion in any material Points hath been brought about by the Influence of the Clergy in general; the Bulk of them, who are always the leaſt knowing, being moſt tenacious of old Opinions. The Pope, indeed, every now and then, makes ſome Reformation of the Calendar of Saints, and ſtrikes out a few antiquated Holy-days, in order to make Room for new Canonizations: But if we are to take our Precedents from what hath hitherto paſſed in the Reformation of any material Points in Religion, it muſt be effected by a few leading Perſons among the Clergy, when ſupported by the upper and more thinking Part of the Laity.

And, as it hath pleaſed God and His Majeſty to call you to the Primacy of this Church, the Author cannot think of any Perſon more proper to addreſs himſelf to at preſent, than Your GRACE; as well on account of Your perſonal Abilities,

Abilities, as of Your Intereſt with thoſe leading Members of the Society, whether Laymen or Clergy, who compoſe the Legiſlative Power of this Realm.

And as he thinks this to be the moſt proper and *Chriſtian* Method of conveying his own Sentiments to *the Powers that be*; ſo hath he alſo publiſhed his Sentiments in the Garb of a metaphyſical Eſſay, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the lower Claſs of Readers, whoſe Thoughts might be diſturbed by an Enquiry into Subjects of this Nature; till by gentle Degrees they come, by the Bleſſing of God, to be made a Part of the eſtabliſhed Religion of the Country; which will give them a proper Recommendation and Weight with thoſe, who are not otherwiſe capable of judging of them.

Not that he expects, that every Thing, which he hath advanced in this *Eſſay* is

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to be received by his Reader as an Article of Faith, but only that it may have its due Weight in his ſerious Conſiderations; for as he is deſirous, that no human Conjectures may be impoſed upon him, as of equal Authority with Divine Revelation; ſo neither does he deſire, that his Conjectures ſhould be obtruded upon others.

The Author is thoroughly convinced, that Miniſters of State will be very cautious, and with great Reaſon, how they embroil themſelves with religious Diſputes. But as he does not apprehend, that there is any Need of purſuing violent Methods, ſo neither does he expect that a thorough Reformation of every thing that may be amended, ſhould be made all at once. He could wiſh, however, that ſomething was done, to convince the World, that the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*, are not averſe to a proper Reformation of ſuch Parts of her

her Publick Service, as demand a more immediate Reviſal; ſince, otherwiſe, they may give Offence by their Obſtinacy and ſeeming Infallibility; and if a Storm ſhould ariſe, may run a Riſque of having that Tree torn up by the Roots, which might have been ſaved by a little pruning.

As the Laws of the Land require Subſcriptions to be made to the Canons and Articles of our Religion, only by Clergymen, Fellows of Colleges, Clerks, and School-Maſters, ſo theſe do not ſeem to need that immediate Redreſs, which thoſe Parts of our Worſhip require, in which the whole Community are expected to join.

He thinks, that he need not inform Your GRACE, That that Creed, which is commonly called the *Athanaſian* Creed, hath of a long Time given Offence, and continueth to give great Offence

Offence to many People. And indeed not without Reaſon, if we conſider it only in this Light, that the Subject of a great Part of it, is a Theologico-Metaphyſical Diſpute, which few, if any, of the Learned underſtand; but is undoubtedly above the Capacity of the Vulgar; and yet, by being made a Part of our Public Service, every Body, as well low as high, is required to aſſent to it.

It is alſo now univerſally acknowledged among the Learned, that it was originally a ſpurious Production, impoſed upon the World under the Name of *Athanaſius*, till detected by the Criticiſms of the learned *Voſſius*. But, ſuppoſing it had been a genuine Piece, and had been undoubtedly written by *Athanaſius*, there can be no Reaſon aſſigned, why the Members of the Church of *Ireland* ſhould be tied down to aſſent to the Compoſitions of a private Perſon,

ſon, who had no other Merit, which the Author can find, for being declared a Saint, but his baſe and low Submiſſion to the Biſhop of *Rome*, who had no legal Authority over him; and his inſolent Behaviour to his lawful Prince, who undoubtedly had a Right to his Obedience.

The Author does, by no means, preſume to preſcribe to Your GRACE: but he thinks himſelf in Duty obliged to recommend it to Your Conſideration, whether the firſt Step to be taken is not to try to get the Words in the Declaration of Aſſent and Conſent made agreeable to the Intention of the Act; which was attempted in *England*, A. D. 1663, about a Year after the laſt *Act of Uniformity*, and paſſed the Houſe of Lords, but was thrown out in the Houſe of Commons, by the then over-ruling Influence of the Duke of *York*, and his Party, who did not let the Clauſe propoſed

poſed paſs even the Houſe of Lords without a Proteſt. But, as we are now, thank God, free from any Apprehenſions of the prevailing Influence of ſuch an Adminiſtration, he hopes Your GRACE will not decline making the Attempt here, as he apprehends it will open a Freedom of Converſation among thoſe Perſons, who have hitherto imagined themſelves to be Tongue-tied, by having publicly and abſolutely given their unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contained in the *Book of Common-Prayer*.

Which will be a proper, if not neceſſary, Preparative to a gradual Reception of thoſe further Emendations of our Liturgy, which are propoſed by ſome anonymous Authors, in the ſecond Edition of a Book, lately publiſhed, entitled, *Free and candid Diſquiſitions relating to the Church of* England. With whom, though the Author of theſe

theſe Papers does not agree in Opinion, concerning the Doctrine contained in the *Athanaſian* Creed, and a few other Particulars: Yet he cannot avoid giving them their due Commendations, for the true *Chriſtian* Spirit of Candour, Moderation, and Meekneſs, which breathes through their whole Performance.

It is indeed prohibited by the *Act of Uniformity*, under ſevere Penalties, for any Perſon *to preach, declare, or ſpeak any thing to the Derogation or depraving the* Book of Common-Prayer, *or any Part thereof*; which, however, is by no means inconſiſtent with that *Chriſtian Liberty* of a decent and free Uſe either of Converſation, or of the Preſs, concerning any Alterations or Amendments, which it may be right and prudent to have made therein. As he apprehends, that every Perſon is liable to be puniſhed by the Laws of the Land, who

who ſhall *preach, declare, or ſpeak to the Derogation or depraving* any Act of Parliament, while it continues in Force: And yet common Reaſon, as well as common Cuſtom, allows every Perſon to propoſe Alterations, and ſpeak his Mind with regard to any Amendments, which may be made therein, provided it be done with common Decency, and a due Reſpect to the Legiſlative Power of the Realm.

And when this is complied with, he then looks upon it as the Duty of ſuch as ſee any Errors in the Conſtitution either of Church or State, to lay their Sentiments before *the Powers that be* in order to produce an Amendment; which is the Motive that prevails with the Author of theſe Papers to give You GRACE the Trouble of this Addreſs, and to recommend to thoſe in Authority the Conſideration of the Advice given by the learned and religious Dr *Hammon*

Hammond, in his Treatiſe, entitled, (4) *A View of the new Directory*. Where, ſpeaking in favour of the Moderation uſed in our Church-Catechiſm, he ſaith, " If we would all keep ourſelves " within that Moderation, and pro- " poſe no larger Catalogue of *Cre-* " *denda* to be believed by all than the " *Apoſtles Creed*, as it is explained in " our *Catechiſm*, doth propoſe; and " lay the greater Weight upon the " Conſideration and Performance of " the Vow of Baptiſm, and all the " Commands of God, as they are ex- " plained by *Chriſt*;—I ſhould be con- " fident there would be leſs hating and " *damning* one another, (which is moſt " ordinarily for Opinions) more *Piety* " and *Charity* and ſo true *Chriſtianity* " among *Chriſtians* and *Proteſtants*, " than hath hitherto been met with." Which would be the moſt proper Me-

(4) See Sect. 40.

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thod that could be taken, to render the Church of *Ireland* truly *catholic*; not by driving Members out of its *Pale*, on account of human Appointments and Determinations, in imitation of the Church of *Rome*; but by opening the Gates of its Communion as wide as was conſiſtent with the Goſpel of *Chriſt*.

The Preface to our *Book of Common-Prayer* declares, that " the particular " Forms of divine Worſhip, and the " Rites and Ceremonies appointed to " be uſed therein, being Things in " their own Nature indifferent and al- " terable, and ſo acknowledged, it is " but reaſonable, that upon weighty " and important Conſiderations, ac- " cording to the various Exigencies of " Times and Occaſions, ſuch Changes " and Alterations may be made there- " in, as to thoſe that are in Place and " Authority

" Authority ſhould from Time to Time
" ſeem either neceſſary or expedient."

The Eyes of Mankind have been greatly opened, not only ſince the Reformation, but even ſince the Revolution. And that Liberty of Converſation and the Preſs, which the Inhabitants of theſe Kingdoms have ever ſince been glorioufly indulged in, hath much promoted a Freedom of thinking, which was curbed and kept down, during the Dominion and Influence of *Popery*.

And as at preſent the Generality of theſe Nations ſeem more inclinable to liſten to Reaſon than formerly, the Author of theſe Papers hath that Confidence both in the Soundneſs of Your GRACE's Judgment, and the Prudence of Your Conduct, that he makes no Doubt of Your doing every thing that is proper upon this Occaſion, to remove thoſe Rocks of Offence, which lie in

the Way of ſo many well-meaning Perſons.

This Attempt of his, he thinks, however, for many Reaſons, to be worth the making, becauſe, though it ſhould not ſucceed, yet he is ſure of having that Satisfaction from it, that he can ſay, *Liberavi Animam meam*; SEE YE TO IT: And that it furniſheth him with an Opportunity of profeſſing himſelf to be

Your GRACE's

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Moſt devoted, and

Moſt obedient

Humble Servant.

AN ESSAY ON SPIRIT.

I. THE Opinion of (1) *Spinoſa* was, that there is no other *Subſtance* in Nature but God: That Modes cannot ſubſiſt, or be conceived, without a Subſtance: That there is nothing in Nature but Modes and Subſtances: And that therefore every Thing muſt be conceived as ſubſiſting in God.

(1) Præter Deum nulla datur, nec concipi poteſt *Subſtantia*, (per Propoſit. xiv.) hoc eſt (per Defin.) Res, quæ in ſe eſt, & per ſe concipitur. *Modi* autem (per Defin. v.) ſine Subſtantia, nec eſſe, nec concipi poſſunt: Quare hi in ſola divina natura eſſe, & per ipſam ſolam concipi poſſunt.

Spin. *Oper. poſth. Ethices, par* I. *pag.* 12.

Which Opinion, with some few Alterations, hath been embraced and cultivated, by *P. Malbranche* and Bishop *Berkeley*.

II. It may indeed be asserted, that there is in Nature but one Self-existent Being, Subsistence, or Substance, which, by way of Eminence, may therefore be called *the Substance*; or, figuratively and comparatively speaking, *the only Being*, *Subsistence*, or *Substance* in Nature. For by these three Words, I would be understood to mean one and the same Thing. The Logicians define *Substantia* to be *Ens per se subsistens & substans accidentibus*. And I mean the same Thing by a *Being*, *Existence*, *Subsistence*, or *Substance*; that is, something capable of supporting *Modes*, *Accidents*, *Relations*, or *Properties*, which are only different Words, to denote the various *Manners* or *Modes*, by which Existent Beings can raise Ideas in our Minds, or, which is the same Thing, can become knowable by us. Every Existence or Being, I therefore call a *Substance*; the Manner in which it makes an Impression on our Minds, I call a *Mode*; and the Effect or Impression, which is thereby made upon the Mind, I call an *Idea*.

Now

Now as Nothing *can have no Properties*, wherever we perceive any Properties, we therefore reasonably conclude, that there must be Something; that is, some Existence or other to support them. Hence the Maxim laid down by *Spinosa*, *Modi sine Substantia, nec esse, nec concipi possunt*: Or, as Sir *Isaac Newton* expresseth it (2), *Virtus sine Substantia subsistere non potest.*

And as God is the only Self-existent Being, therefore he may, comparatively speaking, be said to be the only Being in Nature. And accordingly, when *Moses* enquired of God, by what Name he should make him known to the Children of *Israel*, God said, (3) *Thus shalt thou say to the Children of* Israel, I am *hath sent me unto you.* That is, I *that* am hath sent me unto you; for so it should have been rendered. And therefore, in the first Part of the Verse, where God saith unto *Moses*, *I am that I am*; it should be rendered, I am *that* am, as it is by the *Septuagint*, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν, that is, *I am he that is*, or that exists, as if, comparatively speaking, there was no other Being or Existence but God.

(2) Newt. *Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 483.
(3) Exod. iii. 14.

From which Passage it probably was, that (4) *Plato* borrowed his Notion of the Name of God, when he asserted, that the Word ἐστὶ, *est*, is solely applicable to the eternal Nature of God. And from him it also probably was, that the Word εἶ, *i. e. thou art*, was all that was written on the Door of the *Delphic* Temple: Upon which *Plutarch* remarks, that this Word is solely applicable to God, since that which truly *is* must be sempiternal.

All which is true, when we speak of God in a figurative and less correct Manner, only in Comparison with the Creatures that have been made by him; between whom and their Creator there is no Proportion; and which, when considered in Comparison with him, are as *Nothing*. Which is the View that God is to be considered in, as spoken of in the above-mentioned Passages, quoted out of the Books of *Moses*, and the Theological Works of *Plato*.

III. But when we speak of God and his Works, in a philosophical and more accurate Manner, this will not hold. Since, as

(4) Plato, Timæus.

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Des Cartes truly argues, *I know that I exist.* I cannot be deceived in this. If therefore I exist, and that I am not God, then there is another Existence in Nature beside God. I hope I cannot be thought so absurd, or so impious, as to imagine, that there are more Gods than *one*; or that I did not receive my Existence from the Will and Power of God: The Consciousness of my own Existence necessarily leads me to a first Cause, which first Cause can only be *one*; because two first Causes are a Contradiction in Terms. Every Thing therefore that exists, beside that *First Cause*, which Way soever it is brought forth into Being, whether it be *begotten*, *emanated*, *created*, or *spoken forth*, it must proceed from, and owe its Existence to the (5) Will, as well as Power of that first Cause. However, sure I am, that since I do exist, I exist as a separate and distinct Existence from God; though not independent of him.

(5) *Athanasius* acknowledges it to be impious, to say that God the Father was necessitated to act, even when he begat the Son: And allows also that neither the Son nor Holy Spirit are the first Cause; but the Father alone, and that the Son and Holy Spirit were both caused. *Athan.* Vol. I. p. 512. *Id.* Vol. II. p. 442, 443.

IV. And as my own Conſciouſneſs convinces me of my own Exiſtence, ſo does the ſame Faculty convince me, that this Exiſtence of mine is compoſed of two very different Kinds of Exiſtence, that is, of a thinking, active, powerful, Exiſtence; and a dull, heavy, inactive, Exiſtence. One of which, to wit, the active, we will, for Diſtinction ſake, without entering into any further metaphyſical Diſputes about Words, call the ſpiritual Exiſtence, Subſiſtence, or Subſtance; and the other, *viz.* the inactive, we will call the material or bodily Exiſtence; and ſometimes, for Brevity ſake, we will call one *Spirit*, and the other *Matter* or *Body*.

V. Wherein the Nature or Eſſence, either of this material or this ſpiritual Subſtance does conſiſt, we are entirely ignorant; for we know them only by the Effects or the Influence, which ſome of their Modes or Properties have upon our Minds. Thus, for Example, though we are capable of perceiving the Hardneſs, Colour, Figure, *&c.* of material Exiſtences; yet are we entirely ignorant, what it is that ſupports thoſe Properties; or wherein the Nature, Eſſence, or Identity of *Body* does conſiſt, when the Hardneſs, Figure, Colour,

lour, &c. is either altered or removed. In like Manner, we are equally ignorant of the Nature or Essence of Spirit: We know indeed some of the Properties thereof, such as, Perception, Thinking, Willing, Doubting, &c. But we know not the Essence of that spiritual Being within us, which perceives, thinks, wills, or doubts, &c.

VI. And though we know not wherein the Nature or Essence, either of Body or Spirit does consist; yet we find by Experience, that is, from the Effects which we feel from within, and from without ourselves, that these two Kinds of Existences, of which the human Constitution is composed, have very different and inconsistent Properties: As for Example, that one has the Power of Motion in itself; whereas the other can neither put itself in Motion, nor put a Stop to its own Motions, when once begun; whence we reasonably conclude, that their Natures or Essence are also different.

VII. We likewise find, from Experience, that there is a Difference between necessary and voluntary Motion; and that some Agents have a Power of beginning, varying, and putting a Stop to their own Motions *ad libitum*; while others invariably

act after one regular, constant, and uniform Method of proceeding, equally, and at all Times. And although it is not easy to determine the Boundaries between those two Species of Beings, the Gradation from the one to the other, in some Instances, being so exceedingly exquisite, as for Example, between the vegetable and the animal Part of the Creation, as to render the Distinction hardly perceptible; yet sure we are of the Matter of Fact, *viz.* that there are some Beings, which are capable of voluntary Self-Motion, whereas we find, by Experience, that others are not: And since we find, by repeated Experiments, that that Kind of Existence, which we call *Matter*, is incapable of producing any Kind of Motion, either voluntary or involuntary; whenever we see any thing moved, we may fairly conclude the first Author, or Cause of that Motion, to be what we call *Spirit*.

VIII. It is beyond the Reach of human Abilities to explain, how these two different Kinds of Existence, the active and inactive, can have an Influence, or can possibly affect each other. When we see a Stone descend to the Ground, we are not much surprized, because it is common; but certain it is, that the original Cause of that

that Motion must be some Spirit or other; not only with regard to the Determination of that Motion, but also with regard to the whole *Momentum* of it: Since, as, *Nothing can act where it is not*, that Power whereby any Body continues in Motion, is as much the Effect of some concomitant Spirit, as the Power which put it first in Motion.

IX. That Power also, whereby Matter is enabled to *resist* Motion, is as much the Effect of Spirit, as that whereby it is enabled to continue in Motion, when once communicated: Since Matter, as Matter, cannot possibly exert any active Power of any Kind, either in beginning, continuing, or resisting of Motion. It may remain at Rest, by virtue of its own Inactivity; but if no active Power with-held it, a Mountain would be as easily moved as a Mole-Hill. Because that Resistance, Weight, or Gravity is occasioned by nothing else but the Tendency of one Body towards another, impelled thereto by the attractive Force of some Spirit. Which Tendency, or attractive Power, being in proportion to the (6) Quantity of Matter, makes the Difference

(6) Hactenus phænomena Cœlorum & Maris nostri per vim Gravitatis exposui; sed causam Gravitatis nondum

Difference of Weight or Gravity in Bodies. When therefore this Tendency is removed, there will be no Difference in their Gravity; becauſe none of them, whether large or little, will have any at all: And of conſequence, their Power of Reſiſtance will be deſtroyed. - Which plainly proves, that Reſiſtance is ſomething more than bare Inability, or a Want of Power, or a Negation of Spirit, as the Author of (7) *Siris* aſſerts it only to be.

X. And as there can be no Motion, without a Direction or Determination being given to that Motion; hence it will follow, that every Being, capable of moving, either itſelf, or any thing elſe, muſt alſo be endowed with an *Intellect*, or Underſtanding, capable of directing that Motion. And as nothing can act where it is not, hence alſo it is that Attraction, or Gravity, does not operate in proportion to the Superficies of Bodies, but according to the Quantity of Matter; becauſe every, even

nondum aſſignavi. Oritur utique hæc Vis a Cauſa aliqua, quæ penetrat ad uſque Centra Solis & Planetarum ſine Virtutis diminutione; quæque agit, non pro quantitate Superficierum Particularum in quas agit, (ut ſolent cauſæ mechanicæ) ſed pro quantitate Materiæ ſolidæ. Newt. *Princ. Schol. gen.* p. 482.

(7) *Siris*, Sect. 290.

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the leaſt Particle of active, or attractive Matter, muſt be directed in its Motions by ſome Spirit, united to that Matter, which may have juſt ſuch a Quantity of Intellect communicated to it by its Creator, as will enable it to perform thoſe Functions, which are aſſigned it by its Creator, in order to carry on the general Oeconomy of this Univerſe.

Which Functions, all active Beings that are not endowed with a Freedom of Will, muſt conſtantly and regularly perform, whenever there is an Opportunity given them of exerting thoſe Faculties. And therefore, if they are appointed to perform the Operations of *Attraction* and *Repulſion*, they muſt, as neceſſary Agents, always *attract* or *repel* at certain Diſtances, and according to certain and ſtated Rules, preſcribed by their great Creator; and will never vary in their Tendency towards this Body, or their Averſion from that; but will for ever act in one uniform Way of attracting or repelling the ſame Bodies, and in one regular, conſtant, Method of proceeding. From the Obſervance of which Operations, thoſe Rules, which are called the Laws of Motion, are deduced by the Curious.

XI.

XI. All Nature, therefore, seems to be animated, or alive; and this whole World to be replete with *Spirits* formed with different Kinds and Degrees of Abilities, according to the various Ends and Uses, for which they were designed by their Creator. The Difference of whose intellectual Faculties may not only consist in the Difference of their original Formation as Spirits; but also in the different Inlets for Knowledge, through the Tegument of that Body to which they are united, and by which the Spirit within is capable of receiving any Kind of Information, for the Improvement of its own Understanding.

But if the Almighty is pleased to add a *Liberty of Will* to this active Intellect, and create Spirits endowed with a Power of *voluntary Motion*, then it seems necessary that Almighty God should confer also upon such intelligent Spirits, such Faculties and Powers, as would enable them to be capable of perceiving Pleasure or Pain; since nothing else, but a Sense of one or other of these, seems capable of determining the *Will* to act. For if the Sensation of Pleasure or Pain be removed from the Will, there can be no Reason or Cause for it to prefer

prefer one Motion to another, and of consequence, no Direction or Determination.

XII. And hence may be deduced the following Observations: That to such a Being every thing may be called *Good*, that giveth Pleasure; and every thing *Evil*, that produceth Pain. The highest Pleasure, which any Being is capable of enjoying, may be called its *Happiness*; and the highest Pain, *Misery*. Now as the Use of all Pain is to determine our Motions, so that when we feel or fear Pain, we may be thereby excited to new Actions, for our own Preservation and Delight; hence it appears, that *Evil* takes its *Origin* from the Goodness of God, in which it will also be finally absorbed, when Pain shall be no more. The Will cannot be at liberty to chuse Evil as Evil. But as Pain may be productive of Pleasure, or Pleasure be productive of Pain, hence it comes to pass, that free Agents, by being deceived through their Ignorance, or Passions, may chuse Evil under the Appearance of Good; and herein consists human Freedom; not in the Power of chusing Evil, but in the Power of chusing what seems Good from among a Variety of *Good*, whether real or apparent: And herein lies the Difference between the Freedom of God and

and of Man; that as fallible Men may chuſe an apparent Good, inſtead of a real one, they, by being liable to be deceived, are free, by that Means, to chuſe Evil, inſtead of Good: Whereas God, who cannot be deceived, is only free to chuſe out of that infinite Variety of real Good, which his Will and his Wiſdom may dictate.—— And laſtly, That Virtue, Wiſdom, Prudence, *&c.* in Mankind, may be conſidered only as various Names, for the ſeveral Powers given to them, and the different Methods uſed by them in the Attainment of Happineſs, and avoiding of Miſery. And hence alſo Self-Love may be looked upon in Nature, as the Principle of all voluntary Action; and the Foundation of all *Morality*.

XIII. We find, by Experience, that there are ſome voluntary ſelf-moving Beings here upon Earth, which have but one or two Methods of furniſhing their Minds with the Senſe of Pleaſure, or of Pain; others have three; others four; others five; which are commonly known by the Name of *Senſes*; to which rational Beings have one more added, which is that of inward Reflection. And therefore, the Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, ſpeaking of

of the Formation of Mankind, says (8), *They received the Use of the five Operations of the Lord, and in the sixth Place he imparted to them Understanding.*

XIV. But, let their Number be never so various, they may, in general, be reduced to these two. First, those Methods of Information, which the Mind of any Being, composed of Body and Spirit, is capable of being affected with, by the Intervention of the Senses; which furnish the Mind with such Ideas as may be called *Ideas of Sensation*, because they are conveyed to the Mind through the Organs of Sensation. Or, secondly, those Methods of Information, which the Spirit of any self-moving Agent is capable of being affected with, by its own reflex Acts upon itself; by the Means of which, the Mind is furnished with such Ideas, as may properly be called *Ideas of Reflexion.*

XV. And indeed it is in these reflex Acts of the human Spirit, that is, in the Power which the human Spirit is endowed with, first, in perceiving its own internal Operations in thinking; and, secondly, in being able to turn back its perceptive Faculty, to its past Perceptions, that the chief Dif-

(8) Ecclus. xvii. 5.

ference

ference seems to consist, between the Spirit of Man, and the Spirit of Brutes; or between the rational, and that which is commonly called the animal, Creation.

XVI. By the Assistance, however, of these two Faculties, that is, of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*, the Spirit of Man is furnished with all those Ideas, which fill the human Mind; and supply it with Objects of *intellectual*, as well as *sensual* Pleasures. The latter of which it is that strikes us soonest and strongest, as being most necessary for the immediate Use, and Preservation of Life. And accordingly, we find, that the human Mind requires a kind of Ripening, before it is capable of making any reflex Acts upon its own Operations, or having any Relish for intellectual Pleasures. Upon which Account, it must be acknowledged to have been one great Advantage, which *Adam* had over all his Posterity, that his intellectual Faculties came with him into the World in their full Force; by which Means, he was free from that Bias in favour of sensual Pleasures, which all his Offspring have, ever since, necessarily, laboured under; by an Habit of being indulged in sensual Gratifications, from their Infancy, till they come to a Maturity of Judgment; during which whole

whole Time, the human Will hath no Relish for any Pleasures, but such as enter in by the Senses.

XVII. The Spirit of Man, therefore, being furnished with Ideas by the Operation of the two Faculties of *Sensation* and *Reflexion*; when the Mind begins to operate a-new, its Operations are called by different Names, according to the different Use it makes of those Ideas. For when the Spirit retains any Ideas in View, and collates, or compares, them together, this Act of the Spirit is called *Thinking*. The Continuation of which Act is called *Attention*. When it deposites its Ideas in the Store-House, or Treasury, of the Mind, for future Recollection, and produces them back, upon Occasion, in the same Manner as they were deposited; this Act is called *Memory*: But when it varies, alters, and compounds them, so that they are not the same, as when deposited; this Act is called *Imagination*.

XVIII. When the Spirit, by collating and comparing Ideas together, finds out the Agreement, or Disagreement, of those Ideas; this Operation produceth *Knowledge*, and is, by the Logicians, called *Judgment*: But when the Spirit is mistaken in this Operation,

Operation, and imagines Ideas to have an Agreement, which have no Agreement, and, *vice versa*, this Operation produceth *Error*.

XIX. When this Agreement, or Disagreement, of Ideas, strikes the Mind at once, without the Intervention of any third Idea, to prove their Agreement or Disagreement with one another; this is *intuitive Knowledge:* Which is so called, from its Resemblance to the Information, which the Mind receives by the Sensation of Sight; because it perceives those Kinds of Truth, as the Eye does Light, only by being directed to them: The Objects of which are those Propositions, that are called *self-evident Truths:* Such as, that two and two make four; that the Whole is greater than a Part; that Happiness is preferable to Misery, *&c.* which the Mind cannot but assent to, as soon as it is made to understand the Meaning of those Terms, and which can no more be proved, or demonstrated, than simple Ideas can be defined; as being themselves the Foundation of all Knowledge and Demonstration.

XX. But when the Mind is employed in a more complicated Operation, that is, in comparing together those *Relations*, or this

this Knowledge which we have acquired of the Agreement, or Disagreement of our Ideas; or, which is the same thing, when the Mind, by comparing the Propositions, which result from the Agreement, or Disagreement, of our Ideas, from thence deduces certain *Conclusions*; this Operation of the Spirit, is called *Reasoning*.

The Necessity and Laboriousness of which Operation, in order to arrive at Truth, shews the Imperfection of human Nature; since we find, by Experience, that there is but a very small Part of Knowledge, which is so self-evident to us, as to be *intuitive*. Whereas Beings of a superior Nature, have, probably, their intuitive Knowledge enlarged, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures: By which Means, those Degrees of Knowledge, which human Beings are groping after, by long and tedious Deductions of Reason, are open, at once, to the Eyes of their Understanding, and strike them, at once, with an intuitive View; which is always the more extensive, in proportion to the Excellency of their Natures.

XXI. And hence it is, that (9) *Plato*, speaking of human Abilities in the Investi-

(9) *Plato* in *Phædo*.

gation

gation of Truth, calls it, *beholding Things in the Glass of Reason:* Which he explains, by saying, That as they who contemplate an Eclipse of the Sun, lose the Sight of it, unless they are so careful as to view its Reflexion in Water, or to look at it through some Medium, such as thick Glass; so the Eye of an human Spirit is too weak to find out Truth, unless it looks at it through the Medium of Reason; which St. *Paul* also calls (1) *seeing through a Glass darkly.*

XXII. We do indeed see through a Glass darkly, by the Means of this Tegument of Flesh; this earthly Tabernacle, that encompasseth our Spirit: Since it is manifest, that the intelligent Spirit within Man is, in itself, endowed with Faculties, greatly superior to those Powers it exerciseth in the human Understanding; and performs many Operations within us, and upon us, that are not only above our Power to direct, but above our Understanding to comprehend. That Power, which is constantly working within us, to form and preserve the regular Disposition of our bodily Organs, and to change the Food which we eat, into Blood, into Flesh,

(1) 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

and

and into Bones; and which, according to the Naturalists, is said always to work most powerfully, when the human Understanding is asleep, is manifestly above our Comprehension.

XXIII. It is a common Observation, that when the Belly is full, the Bones would be at rest; which seems entirely owing to this, that the Spirit being unmolested with human Cogitations, and its Attendance upon our Will, may be more at leisure to pursue those Operations, which are immediately necessary towards our Preservation. For that it is the same wise Agent, which operates in the Digestion of our Food, and that enables us to put in Execution the Directions of our Will, appears from hence, that when we have a Mind to move a Finger, or a Leg, that Part of the human Understanding, which is under our Direction, is capable of doing no more than the Power of willing it; but how to perform this Action, it is as ignorant of as the Beast in the Field.

XXIV. Which Operation of the Spirit, is that which is known by the Name of *Instinct*, and goes through the whole Creation. It is by *Instinct* that the minutest Particles of Matter attract or repel each other:

other: It is by *Instinct* that the Flower of the Field, which outdoes *Solomon* in all his Glory, is directed in throwing forth its Leaves and its Flowers, and forming its Fruit in due Season: It is by *Instinct* that the Birds of the Air build their Nests; and the Beasts of the Field provide for themselves and their Young, with a Sagacity superior to the Directions of human Wisdom.

XXV. Whether the Spirits of all created Beings, or even of all Beings of the same Species, are equally perfect, is a Question not very easy to determine; because, though we find, by Experience, a vast Difference, between the Understandings of Men, not only with regard to their improved, but also their natural, Abilities; yet this may arise, not from any Difference between the Spirits of Men, but from the different Formation of their bodily Organs, which may have that Influence upon their Spirit, as sufficiently to account for the Difference of their Understandings: Since we frequently see bodily Distempers, such as Frenzies and Fevers, make such an Alteration in the Understanding, as to reduce Men, at other Times of good and sensible Dispositions, at least, to the Level, with Madmen and Idiots.

XXVI. An

XXVI. And therefore we cannot be positive, but that all created Spirits, may only differ, according to the different Combinations of that material System, with which they are circumscribed, and in which they are enclosed, by the great Author of Nature. For, as Extension seems to be a Property peculiar to material Substance, it may be, that all created Spirits, do not only owe their Shape, and the Limits of their Existence to Matter, but also the Extent of those Faculties, which they are permitted to exert. And that the same Spirit, which, when cloathed with one Sett of material Organs, is only capable of exerting its Intelligence in the Performance of Attraction or Repulsion, and when jarring Elements meet, breaks forth in Thunder and Lightning, and Earthquakes, or any other mechanical Operations, may, when united to a different Sett of Organs, of a more exquisite and delicate Contexture, be capable of exercising voluntary Motion, may be enabled to think and to reason, to operate in Love or Hatred, and, when provoked by Opposition, may be agitated with Anger and Resentment, and break forth in Quarrels, Contention, and War.

XXVII. What other Spirits there are in the Universe, beside those which belong to this terraqueous Globe, and how or when they came into Existence, human Understandings are not capable of pointing out: But more than probable it is, that the great Expanse is full of Spirits of different Ranks and Degrees, from the lowest Power of Activity to the highest Degree of Perfection, which it is possible for created Spirits to be possessed of.

XXVIII. To what Degree of Perfection Spirits are capable of being created, human Knowledge cannot possibly determine: But certain it is, that the Degree must be limited in every Being, but God alone; and that God cannot create or produce any Being, equal in Power to, or independent on, himself; because two All-powerfuls, two Supremes, would imply a Contradiction.

XXIX. We may, however, easily suppose, that God may communicate to the Works of his Hands, such Portions of his own Attributes, as are greatly beyond the Comprehension of Mankind to conceive. Because God can do every thing that does not imply a Contradiction. For, as a blind Man cannot apprehend how a Shepherd

from the Top of an Hill, can preſide over ſeveral Flocks of Sheep, wandering about, at a Diſtance from each other; how he knows when they ſtray, or how, by the Help of his Eye-ſight, he can be, as it were, omnipreſent: So a Man of the greateſt Abilities may, for Want of Faculties, be unable to conceive that Power, whereby a created intelligent Agent, of ſuperior Qualifications to thoſe communicated to Mankind, can be enabled to ſee in Darkneſs as well as Light; to know the inmoſt Receſſes and Thoughts of Mens Hearts; to preſide at once over ſuch a World as this which we inhabit, and where two or three are gathered together, there to be alſo inviſible in the Midſt of them: And yet ſuch a Power may certainly be communicated, becauſe it implies no Contradiction.

XXX. In like Manner, therefore, as we ſee Mankind furniſhed with Abilities to contrive and form ſeveral Machines of wonderful Force and Efficacy; to build Houſes and Ships, make Clocks and Watches; and govern Kingdoms: So there ſeems to be no Contradiction, in ſuppoſing that God might communicate ſo much Power to one of his own Creatures, of a more exalted Nature than Man, as to en-

able him to create inferior Beings, and frame a World of his own, compoſed of intelligent Agents: Which Power, however, muſt be limited, and muſt be dependent on the Supreme Being.

XXXI. And, as the Almighty God is the only ſupreme, infinite, unlimited, Being in the Univerſe; ſo is he, probably, the only unembodied Spirit that exiſts: That is, the only Spirit which is not limited, clogged, and fettered, with ſome Kind, or Degree, of inactive Matter, which may ſerve to give a Form and Shape, or Boundary, to its ſpiritual Nature. For (2) *there are Bodies celeſtial, and Bodies terreſtrial; but the Glory of the celeſtial is one, and the Glory of the terreſtrial is another.* And as we know not what the Eſſence of that inactive Principle is, which we call *Matter*, we cannot ſay, to what exquiſite Degrees of Perfection its Properties are reducible, or what Improvement it is capable of receiving; but that ſome (3) Spi-

rit

(2) 1 Cor. xv. 40.

(3) Moſt of the ancient Fathers ſuppoſed the Angels to have Bodies. See Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* xii. p. 101. as alſo Huetii *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. 2, 5. *Tertullian* was ſo abſurd, as to ſuppoſe even God to have a Body, Tert. *de Carne Chriſti*, cap. 11. which I ſuppoſe he borrowed from the old *Platonic* Notion, o

God

rits may be furnished with Bodies of so delicate a Texture, that they may *cloath themselves with Light, as it were with a Garment, may make the Clouds their Chariots, and walk upon the Wings of the Wind:* By the organical Disposition of which Bodies, the Spirits united thereto may be capable of receiving and communicating to each other Ideas of bodily Pain and bodily Pleasure, as well as intellectual Pain and intellectual Pleasure; may have their Affections and their Passions as well as we; their Friendships and Animosities; their Wars and Alliances; none of which, however, we can form any real Idea, or Notion of, for Want of the same Kind of Senses, which they are furnished with; any more than a deaf Man can of Sounds, or a blind Man can of Light and Colours.

XXXII. And, as to the Time when they were created, we are as ignorant of that, as we are of their Natures. But probable it is, that as God is an active Spirit, for *God is a Spirit*, and hath existed from all Eternity, he hath been constantly employed in exerting this active Faculty; and

God being the Soul of the World. But this God, he ought to have considered, was not supposed to be the Supreme God. See Plato in *Timæo:* See also Virg. *Æneid.* lib. vi. 721.

therefore may have created some intelligent Beings, from such a distant Duration of Time, as we can no otherwise describe but by calling it *eternal*. For to imagine that there are no Spirits in the wide Expanse of Space, but what have Reference to this terraqueous Globe, this Speck of Matter, on which Mankind are placed, or even this planetary System, which is visible to human Eyes; and that no Worlds, filled with intelligent Spirits, were created till about 6000 Years ago; about which Time, both Reason and Revelation agree, that this Ball of Earth began to revolve about the Sun, is a Thought unworthy of a Philosopher, and inconsistent with the Infinity of God's Power, as well as with the Eternity of his Existence.

XXXIII. And yet we ought to take Notice, that in the Language of the Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, when the *Creation* is spoken of, it is only to be considered as referring to the Creation of this World, in which there is no Mention made of the Creation of Angels, or of any other Beings, because it would have been foreign to the Purpose: And that therefore, St. *John* begins his Gospel with the same Expression that *Moses* does; *In the Beginning*, i. e. of this World.

For

For when we ſpeak of any Beings, which exiſted before this World was created, having no Meaſures of Time, whereby to denote, or diſtinguiſh the different Durations of their Exiſtence, we muſt equally ſay of them all, that they exiſted (4) *in the Beginning*, or *before the World was*, or *of old*, or *from Everlaſting*. See Sect. L. LI. LII.

XXXIV. And as God may communicate what Proportions he pleaſes of his Attributes, to the different Gradations of created Beings, with which he hath been pleaſed to fill the Univerſe: Each of theſe, with regard to Beings of their own Species, may have ſuch Faculties and Properties communicated to them, as may render them knowable to each other. But, with regard to Beings of a different Nature, thoſe of a ſuperior, or more excellent Kind, may not be cogniſable, by Beings of an inferior Order; though Beings of an inferior Kind may be eaſily cogniſable to thoſe of a more exalted Nature; the Properties of the one being of too exquiſite and delicate a Frame and Contexture, to affect the Perception or ſtrike the Senſes of the other. And hence it is, that human

(4) Gen. i. 1. John i. 1. xvii. 5. Pſal. cii. 5. Prov. viii. 22, 23. Micah v. 2.

Beings may be ſurrounded with Myriads of ſpiritual Agents, without ever being ſenſible thereof; unleſs thoſe ſuperior Beings are pleaſed to aſſume ſuch Forms, and condeſcend to furniſh themſelves with ſuch Qualifications, as are capable of making an Impreſſion on the human Spirit from within, or the human Senſes from without.

XXXV. *Heſiod*, one of the firſt *Heathen* Authors extant, ſuppoſeth Myriads of inviſible Spirits cloathed in Air, attending upon this terreſtrial Globe, and employed as *Angels*, that is, *Meſſengers*, between the great God and Mankind, obſerving their Actions, and reporting them to *Jupiter*. And (5) *Plato* ſays, that "*Saturn* well "knowing there was no Man who could "have abſolute Empire over others, with-"out abandoning himſelf to all Kinds of "Violence and Injuſtice, ſubjected the "Nations not to Men, but to more noble "and excellent Beings, as their Lords and "Governors; namely to (6) *Dæmons*, or "*intelligent*

(5) *Plato, de Leg.* lib. iv.

(6) Ἀλλὰ γένες θειότερόν τε καὶ ἀμείνονας, Δαίμονας. By the Word *Dæmon*, we are not to underſtand *Evil-Spirits*, as it hath been vulgarly thought to mean; but rather *happy* ones, the Word Δαίμων, *Dæmon*, originally ſignifying *happy*. But as thoſe Spirits to which the

" *intelligent Spirits*, of a more divine and
" better Nature than themſelves, after the
" ſame Manner, as we deal with our
" Cattle: For, as we do not ſet a Bull
" over an whole Herd of his own Kind,
" nor a Goat to govern a Flock of Goats;
" but put thoſe of both Kinds, under the
" Conduct of a Man; ſo God, who loves
" Mankind, placed them, at firſt, under
" the Conduct of Angels."

XXXVI. The (7) *Greeks*, it is certain, and *Plato*, in particular, borrowed many of their theological Sentiments from the *Hebrews*; among whom this, of a Number of inviſible Spirits attending upon this Globe of Earth, and preſiding over States and Kingdoms, was certainly one. For the Opinion of the *Jews* upon this Head was, that Almighty God, the firſt Author and Creator of all Things, was of ſo tranſcendent a Nature, that, before he created Beings of the loweſt Rank, he produced an infinite Variety of Beings, in a gradual Deſcent, which were ſtill greater and ſuperior to others, who were yet employed

the *Heathen* gave the Appellation of *happy*, have been deemed by *Chriſtians* to be rather unhappy and evil Spirits; therefore this Word is generally miſapplied.

(7) See Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* p. 507.

by him to act in a middle Station, between him and the lower Productions of his Almighty Power. The Septuagint Translation of the Bible therefore renders that Passage in the Song of *Moses*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. after this Manner: *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; When he separated the Sons of* Adam, *he set the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the Lord's Portion is his People* Jacob, *the* (8) *Line of his Inheritance* Israel. And the wise Son of *Sirach* saith, (9) *For in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, God set a Ruler* (or *Governing Angel) over every People; but* Israel *is the Lord's Portion.* The *Jews* accordingly supposed some of these Angels to have been appointed as Guardian or Governing Spirits (1), over the several Nations of the Earth; and that the Portion of *Israel* was particularly committed

(8) Or *Boundary.* See 1 Cor. x. 16.

(9) Ecclus xvii. 17.

(1) It appears also from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that this was the Opinion of the *Christian* Church in his Time. See Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 309, 822, 828, 830, 832. Edit. *Oxon.* Pot.

to

to the Care of that Being, who is here denoted by the Name of *the Lord.*

XXXVII. It ought to be acknowledged, however, that the Words here quoted out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, as rendered by the Septuagint, do not exactly agree with the *Hebrew* Copy of the Bible. For, according to the *Hebrew*, it ſhould run thus: *When the Moſt High divided the Nations, when he ſeparated the Sons of* Adam, *he ſet the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Children of* Iſrael, *and* Jehovah's *Portion is his People:* Jacob *is the Lot of his Inheritance.* But it ſhould be obſerved, that although this Separation, or Diſperſion of the Sons of *Adam*, this ſettling the Bounds of the Nations, was a Tranſaction which came to paſs long before *Iſrael* had any Children to number, or was even himſelf in Being; yet the Commentators have taken much Pains to reconcile this Text with the Matter of Fact; and to make the Number of the various Nations upon Earth, agree with the Number of the Children of *Iſrael*; which, nevertheleſs, they have not been able to accompliſh: For, if the Number of the Children of *Iſrael* be computed by the Number of his immediate Deſcendants, which were only thirteen,

viz.

viz. twelve Sons, and one Daughter; this Number would be too few for the Number of Nations diſperſed over the Earth; and if all the Deſcendants of *Iſrael* be taken into the Account, then the Number will be infinitely too large. As therefore the reading of this Text according to the Septuagint Verſion, is ſupported by that Paſſage, already quoted, out of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, as well as by other Parts of the Old Teſtament; and correſponds with the general Opinion of the moſt learned ancient *Jews*: I am inclined to prefer the Septuagint Verſion of this Text, to the preſent Reading in our *Hebrew* Bible.

XXXVIII. And what adds no ſmall Weight with me in this Affair, is an Expreſſion made uſe of by (2) St. *Paul*, in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where, ſpeaking of the ſecond coming of our Saviour, when he ſhall appear in a State of Glory, manifeſtly ſuperior to Angels, he ſays, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in Subjection the World to come of which we ſpeak.* Whence it ſeems to appear, that it was St. *Paul*'s Opinion, that this preſent World had been put in Subjection to Angels.

(2) Heb. ii. 5.

XXXIX. Which

XXXIX. Which Opinion is alſo confirmed by St. *Jude*, who ſeems to attribute the Error of the fallen Angels, who *ſinned*, as (3) St. *Peter* expreſſeth it, to their Miſconduct in the Government of thoſe Provinces which were allotted to their Charge. For, ſays he, Αγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν, ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας, δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν. *The Angels which kept not their Principalities with due Care; but neglected their proper Provinces, he* (God) *hath reſerved in everlaſting Chains under Darkneſs:* For ſo this Verſe ought to be tranſlated. The Verb τηρέω, which we tranſlate *kept*, ſignifying the keeping of a Thing with Care and Diligence: In which Senſe it is uſed, when it is applied in the Septuagint to the (4) keeping the Commandments of God, and keeping our own Hearts, and our Ways. And in *Canticles* vii. 11, 12. it is uſed to denote the *Keepers* of a Vineyard, who were to dreſs it, and cultivate it. And, as to the Word Ἀρχὴ, that is generally uſed by the Septuagint to denote a *Principality*, as the Word is rendered in the Margin of our *Engliſh* Bible. And it is to be obſerved,

(3) 2 Pet. ii. 4.
(4) 1 Sam. xv. 11. Prov. iii. 1. 21. iv. 23. viii. 34.

that

that it is the Word Ἄρχων and Ἄρχοντες, which *Daniel* gives to those ruling Angels, which are said in the Book of (5) *Daniel*, to preside over the Realms of *Græcia*, *Persia* and *Israel*. The Word ἀπολείπω, which our Translation renders *left*, is frequently applied by the Septuagint, to denote the leaving or neglecting any Business, which it was our Duty to have pursued; as when (6) *Baasha* is said to have *left off building* Ramah, *and let his Work cease*; and when *Solomon* blameth the (7) *strange Woman*, for FORSAKING *the Guide of her Youth*. The Word οἰκητήριον, though it properly signifies a *Dwelling-place*, in general, yet it is not confined to signify a House, nor even a Province, or larger Space of Ground; but is by the Prophet (8) *Jeremiah* applied to denote the wide Extent of God's holy Habitation in Heaven: However, it is here restrained by the Word ἴδιον, to denote the proper and peculiar Provinces of these Angels, which they may be supposed to have been employed in the Conduct and Management of; and accordingly, the Word οἰκέτης denotes such a Domestick as is employed in the Business of the House, and

(5) Dan. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1.
(6) 2 Chron. xvi. 5.
(7) Prov. ii. 17.
(8) Jer. xxv. 30.

is always used by the Septuagint to signify a (9) *Servant*. And therefore, this Expression of Ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, may very well be understood to signify their forsaking, or neglecting their proper Business, or Provinces, that were given into their Charge by God.

XL. As for the Opinion of the more modern *Jews*, it is no easy Matter to collect or fix their Sentiments; because that, since the coming of our Saviour, the *Jews*, not being willing to abide by the Expositions given to the Prophesies in the Old Testament, by the *Christians*, or even by their own ancient Paraphrasts, made a Collection of their oral Traditions, which they gathered together into one Book, which they called the *Talmud*: And finding many seeming Contradictions in the literal Interpretation of those Texts of Scripture, which were universally allowed by the ancient *Jews* to refer to their Messiah; and not being willing to expound them of different Advents of one and the same Person; the one in a State of Humiliation, and the other in a State of Glory; the one in this World, and the other in the next; they then ran into numberless absurd Contrivances, of expounding the

(9) Gen. ix. 25. xxvii. 37. xliv. 33, &c.

Scriptures

Scriptures by a cabaliſtical Method of Interpretation, in finding out myſterious and hidden Meanings, not only in the Sentences and Words of Scripture, but alſo in the very Letters themſelves, as well as in the Number of Letters, of which thoſe Words were compoſed: And, by this Means, the Learning of the more modern *Jews* is reduced into ſuch a nonſenſical Jargon of Sounds, without Senſe, as makes their Works infinitely tireſome in the Peruſal. And therefore, rather than fatigue my Reader with an Account of ſuch Trifles, I ſhall chuſe to lay before him the Opinion of the moſt ſenſible and learned among the ancient *Jews*, as I find it collected very judiciouſly, by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, who muſt be allowed to be a tolerable Judge, becauſe he lived amongſt them in the Land of *Judæa*.

XLI. (1) "The *Jews*, ſays he, after "that Eſſence of the All-powerful God, "who had neither Beginning nor Origin, "place that (2) *Head* or *Chief*, which was

(1) Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

(2) Ἀρχὴ, which Word is ſometimes uſed by the Authors of the Septuagint Verſion of the Bible, inſtead of Ἄρχων, to denote the *Head* or *Chief*, of any Society or collective Body of Men. See *Exod.* vi. 25.

"begotten

" begotten of the Father, and therefore
" was his First-born. Which, as he is
" the Co-adjutor of his Council, is there-
" fore called the Image of his Father.
" Which *Chief*, as he far exceeds all crea-
" ted Beings, is for this Reason called *the*
" *Image of God*, the *Wisdom of God*, the
" *Logos*, or *Word of God*, the *Prince of*
" *the Lord's Host*, and the *Angel of his*
" *Counsel*. As to those Intelligences, which
" come after this *Chief*, they are of such
" various and different Forms, that hu-
" man Expressions cannot denote them,
" but by Comparison and Analogy to
" those Things which are the Objects of
" our Senses; as the Sun, the Moon, the
" Stars, and the Heaven, which encloseth
" all Things. As the divine Apostle does,
" when he says, *There is one Glory of the*
" *Sun, and another Glory of the Moon, and*
" *another Glory of the Stars, for one Star*
" *differeth from another Star in Glory*. In
" like Manner, must we think of the Sub-
" ordination of unbodied, intelligent, Be-
" ings. For, as the ineffable and infinite
" Power of God *(like Heaven)* compre-
" hends all Things; in the second Place
" comes the operating and illuminating
" Power of the divine *Logos*; for which
" Reason he is called by the *Hebrews*, the

" *Light*

" *Light*, and the (3) *Sun of Justice:* Then, " after this (4) second Essence, as it were " in the Place of the *Moon*, comes the " *Holy Spirit*, which they place in this " royal Dignity, and Degree of (5) Prin- " cipality; because it is the Will of the " great Architect to appoint him to the " Principality of those inferior Beings, " which may want his Assistance. Who " therefore, obtaining the third Place, " confers on those who are inferior to " him, those excellent Virtues, which " he himself received from another, to " wit, from the divine *Logos*, his Bet- " ter and Superior; whom we before said " was the second to the supreme, unbe- " gotten, and almighty, God.—So, says " he, all the *Hebrew* Divines, after that " God, who is over all, and after his first- " born Wisdom, pay (6) divine Worship " to the third and holy Power, which they " call the Holy Spirit, by which they " themselves are illuminated, when they " are divinely inspired."

XLII. In another Place, (7) *Eusebius*, in explaining the Sentiments of the *Jews*,

(3) Mal. iv. 2. Which *Philo Judæus* interprets of the *Messiah*.

(4) Δευτέραν οὐσίαν. (5) Ἀρχῆς. (6) Ἀποθειάζουσιν.

(7) Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 12.

says,

ſays, that, " as *Mileſius* made a ſecond " Principle of *Water*; *Heraclitus* of *Fire*; " and *Pythagoras* of *Numbers*, &c. ſo the " *Jews* made a ſecond Eſſence of the *Lo-* " *gos*, which was begotten by the *Firſt* " *Cauſe*."

XLIII. And in another Place, (8) *Euſebius* quotes a Paſſage of *Philo Judæus*, wherein that Author calls the *Logos*, the (9) *Second God*, in whoſe Image Man was created. And again, where he calls this *Logos*, The firſt-born Son of God, to whom God had committed the Care of all Things, (1) *as a great King appoints a Miniſter*, or *Viceroy*, *to act under him*.

XLIV. And, in another Place, (2) he quotes *Philo*, for calling this *Second Cauſe the Image of God*, *the firſt-born* Logos, *the moſt antient of Angels*, *and*, *as it were*, *the Archangel*, *ſubſiſting with many Names*. For ſays *Philo*, He is called the (3) *Chief*, the *Name of God*, the *Logos*, the *Image*, and the (4) *Overſeer*, *Viſiter*, or *Regarder* of *Iſrael*.

(8) Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.
(9) Δεύτερον θεόν.
(1) Οἷα τὶς μεγάλε βασιλέως ὕπαρχος διαδέχεται.
(2) Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. xi. cap. 15. Περὶ τᾶ δευτέρου αἰτίου. (3) Αρχὴ. (4) Ὁ ὁρῶν Ισραήλ.

XLV.

XLV. I am very sensible, that some learned Men are of Opinion, that these were only the Sentiments of the *Jews* belonging to *Palestine* and *Egypt*; but if we look into those Books, which contain the Doctrines, which all *Jews* either do, or ought to profess, that is, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we shall find that there is great Foundation for the afore-mentioned Opinions of the *Jews*, with regard to Angels; and for all these Appellations, which are here given to this *secondary Essence*, who is, by *Philo*, very justly called the *Archangel with many Names*. For the Prophet (5) *Daniel* declares, that the Angel *Gabriel*, having touched him, and spoken to him, said, that he was *come to make him understand what should befal his People in the latter Days*, and that he would have come sooner, but that (6) *the Prince* (or *ruling* or *governing Angel) of the Kingdom of* Persia *withstood him one and twenty Days*, *till* Michael, *one of the chief Princes*, or, as the *Hebrew* expresseth it, the First Princes, *came to help him*. And again, the Angel

(5) Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21. x. 13, 20, 21. xii. 1.

(6) Heb. שַׂר. Sept. Ἀρχων. *Simmias*, the Disciple of *Socrates*, in *Plato's Phædo*, speaking of Guardian Angels, calls them Δεσπότας, i. e. *Lords* or *Governors*.

says,

ſays, *And now I will return to fight againſt the Prince of* Perſia, *and when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of* Græcia *ſhall come. But I will ſhew thee what is noted in the Scripture of Truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in theſe Things, but* Michael *your Prince.* And a little afterwards he calleth Michael *the great Prince which ſtandeth for the Children of* Iſrael. Or, as *Philo* would have expreſſed it, ὁ ὁρῶν Ἰσραήλ: *He that regardeth*, or is the Guardian Angel of, *Iſrael.*

XLVI. And correſpondent hereto the Septuagint Tranſlation of the Bible, as before quoted, renders that Paſſage in the Song of *Moſes*, which is mentioned, *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9. *Aſk thy Father, and he will ſhew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee: When the Moſt High divided to the Nations their Inheritance; when he ſeparated the Sons of* Adam, *he ſet the Bounds of the Nations according to the Number of the Angels of God, and the* Lord's *Portion is his People* Jacob, *the Line of his Inheritance* Iſrael. Upon which Words *Euſebius* has this Remark. (7) " By the Words *the Moſt High*, " *Moſes* denotes the Father, who is God " over all; and by *the Lord*, he means

(7) Euſeb. *Dem. Evang.* lib. iv. cap. 7.

" the

" the *Logos*, who is called *Lord*, as being, " with regard to us, next to that God who " is over all. But, says he, all Nations " whom he calls the Sons of *Adam*, were, " for Reasons to us unsearchable, distri- " buted according to the Will of the Most " High, to Governing and Guardian An- " gels, who elude our Sight. But to the " most eminent Governor, Ruler, and " King of all, as to his only Son, he al- " lots the Government of *Jacob*, or *Israel*." And in this Interpretation he is supported by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who says positively, that (8) *Angels were appointed by God to preside over Nations and Cities:* That (9) *they are his Ministers in the Government of terrestrial Affairs*; and, (1) in particular, that *they were by his Command distributed among the Nations*, &c.

XLVII. Whence it is manifest, that, according to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, Angels were appointed to preside over People and Nations upon Earth, and that one Angel, in particular, who is called by *Moses* (2), *Jehovah*, and by the Septuagint is translated *the Lord*, had *Israel*

(8) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. vi. p. 822. Edit. Pot.
(9) Id ibid. lib. vii. p. 839.
(1) Id. ibid. p. 832.
(2) See Sect. xxxvii.

assigned

assigned to him by the *Most High*, as the Portion of his Inheritance; and therefore may very reasonably be supposed to be the same Person with that *First Prince*, mentioned by *Daniel*, whom he also calleth Michael, *the great Prince which standeth for the Children of* Israel; and with that Archangel with many Names, whom *Philo* calls *the Regarder of* Israel.

XLVIII. And what is remarkable, is this, that this Name of *Michael*, which is given by *Daniel* to this Archangel, literally signifies (3) *who is like God*; and accordingly *Philo* observes, that one of the Names belonging to this Archangel was *the Image of God*. Which Image (4) he calleth the *Logos* and *the second God*, and supposed Man to have been made in the Image of this Image; Because, says he, "nothing mortal can be formed in the "Image of the Supreme God, the Father "of all Things."

XLIX. Which *Logos*, or *Word* of God, is, in the *Book of Wisdom*, manifestly spo-

(3) The Word *Michael*, being derived from the three *Hebrew* Words, *Mi*, which signifies *who*; *Cha*, which signifies *so*, or *like*, or *the same*; and *El*, which signifies *God*.

(4) Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.

ken

ken of, as the Guardian Angel of *Israel*; where the Author of that elegant Work, in describing the (5) Angel, who was sent to rescue them from their *Egyptian* Bondage, by destroying the First-born of the *Egyptians*, says: For (6) *while all Things were in quiet Silence, and that Night was in the Midst of her swift Course, thine Almighty* Word *leapt down from Heaven, out of thy royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the Midst of a Land of Destruction, and brought thy unfeigned Commandment, as a sharp Sword, and standing up, filled all Things with Death, and it touched the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.* And therefore also the *Jerusalem Targum* on *Exod.* xii. 23. where it is said in the *Hebrew*, *And* Jehovah *will pass through to smite the* Egyptians, paraphrases it by saying, *And the* Word of Jehovah *shall pass through to smite the* Egyptians. Which Expression of *Memra Jehovæ*, or *Word of* Jehovah, is so favourite an Expression, among all the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts on the Old Testament, that, where the original Expression in the *Hebrew* says, *Jehovah* did such or such a Thing, they commonly paraphrase it, by attributing those Operations to the *Memra*, that is, the *Logos*, or

(5) Exod. xxiii. 21. (6) Wisd. xviii. 13—16.

Word

Word of Jehovah. Inſtances of which it would be endleſs to produce.

L. And as this Angel, whoſe Portion is *Iſrael*, is called the *Word* of God, becauſe God employeth him to carry his Word; ſo is he alſo, by the ſame Figure of Rhetoric, called *the Wiſdom of God*, becauſe he is employed by God to execute the Purpoſes of his Wiſdom. For thus the wiſe Son of *Sirach*, when ſpeaking of this Guardian Angel of *Iſrael*, by the Name of *Wiſdom*, ſays (7), *I came out of the Mouth of the High, and covered the Earth as a Cloud. I dwelt in high Places, and my Throne is in a cloudy Pillar: So the Creator of all Things gave me a Commandment; and he that* MADE *me cauſed me to reſt, and ſaid, Let thy Dwelling be in* Jacob, *and thine Inheritance in* Iſrael. *He* CREATED *me from the Beginning, before the World, and I ſhall never fail. In the holy Tabernacle I ſerved him; and ſo was I eſtabliſhed in* Sion. *Likewiſe in the beloved City he gave me Reſt, and in* Jeruſalem *was my Power. And I took Root in an honourable People, even in the Portion of the Lord's Inheritance. I therefore being* ETERNAL, *am given to all my Children which are named of*

(7) Ecclus. xiv. 1—12.

him, i. e. I am ſent to the Children of *Iſrael*, who are God's peculiar People, and are ſo named of him. See *Lev.* xxvi. 12. *Micah* iv. 5.

LI. Where it is to be obſerved, that this Being is ſpoken of, *as coming out of the Mouth* of the Moſt High, *made* and *created*; which muſt be underſtood in the ſame Senſe with thoſe Words of *Moſes*, when he deſcribes the Creation of *Light*: *And God ſaid, Let there be Light, and there was Light*, Gen. i. 3. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that this Guardian Angel of *Iſrael*, whoſe *Throne* was in *the cloudy Pillar*, &c. is here declared to have been a *created* Being, in Terms as ſtrong and plain as it is in the Power of Language to expreſs. It may alſo further be remarked, that although he is poſitively ſaid to have been *made* and *created*, yet becauſe he was ſpoken into Exiſtence before the Sun and the Moon, thoſe Meaſures of Duration, which were given Mankind, (8) *for Signs and for Seaſons, and for Days and for Years*; becauſe he was *in the Beginning, before the World*, he ſtyles himſelf *eternal*. See Sect. xxxiii.

(8) Gen. i. 14.

LII. And

LII. And in the same Kind of Style it is that *Solomon*, speaking of this same Being under the Denomination of *Wisdom*, represents it as a separate intelligent Agent, personally subsisting with God *from Everlasting*, because it was *brought forth* before the Creation of this World. For thus, speaking in the Person, and under the Character of *Wisdom*, he saith (9), Jehovah (1) *possessed me in the Beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old. I was set up from Everlasting, from the Beginning, or ever the Earth was. When there were no Depths, I was* BROUGHT FORTH; *when there were no Fountains abounding with Water. Before the Mountains were settled; before the Hills was I* BROUGHT FORTH: *While as yet he had not made the Earth, nor the Fields, nor the highest Parts of the Dust of the World. When he prepared the Heavens, I was there: When he set a Compass upon the Face of the Deep: When he gave to the Sea his Decree, that the Water should not pass his Commandment: When he appointed the Foundations of the Earth; then I was by him as one brought up with him: And I was always his Delight, rejoicing always before him.*

(9) Prov. viii. 22.
(1) In the Septuagint it is, *The Lord created me.*

LIII. But *Philo Judæus* further obſerves, that this Archangel with many Names, whoſe Portion was *Iſrael*, was alſo called by *the Name of God*. Now let us ſee what Foundation there is for this in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament. The Name of God, which the *Jews* never pronounced, but called it the ineffable Name, was *Jehovah*; ſo that, whenever in reading the Bible, they met with this Word, inſtead thereof, they always ſaid *Adonai* or *Elohim*; and the Authors of the Septuagint Tranſlation of the Bible, who were *Jews*, when they rendered it into *Greek*, always tranſlated it by the Word Κύριος, which we in *Engliſh* render *the Lord*. Which is the Reaſon alſo why *Philo* does not mention that Name of God by which this Archangel was denominated, but ſays only in genera, that he was called by *the Name of God*. Now the Inſtances in the Old Teſtament, where an Angel, and in particular, that Angel which acted as a Guardian Angel to the Seed of *Abraham*, and preſided over the Children of *Iſrael*, is called *Jehovah*, are very numerous.

LIV. Thus, when *Hagar* fled from the Face of her Miſtreſs, it is ſaid, that *an Angel of* Jehovah *found her in the Wilderneſs*,

neſs, and the Angel of Jehovah *ſaid unto her, Return to thy Miſtreſs.* Now, though *Moſes* in this Place calls the Perſon who ſpake to *Hagar* an Angel of *Jehovah*, yet *Moſes* afterwards mentions this ſame Perſon under the direct Name of *Jehovah*: For, ſays he, (2) Hagar *called the Name of* JEHOVAH *that ſpake to her, Thou God ſeeſt me.*

LV. Thus alſo it is ſaid of *Abraham*, that (3) JEHOVAH *appeared unto him in the Plains of* Mamre; *and he ſat in the Tent-door in the Heat of the Day; and he lift up his Eyes and looked, and lo, three Men ſtood by him.* Now that two of the Perſons which are here called Men, becauſe they appeared as ſuch, had each of them the Appellation of *Jehovah* given them, will appear from the Context: For when one of theſe Men enquired for *Sarah*, and ſaid, *Lo!* Sarah *thy Wife ſhall have a Son*; upon which *Sarah* laughed within herſelf: Then it is poſitively ſaid, that JEHOVAH *ſaid unto* Abraham, *Why did* Sarah *laugh? Is any thing too hard for* Jehovah? And yet it is ſaid, after all this, that *the Men roſe up from thence, and looked towards* Sodom; *and* Abraham *went with them to*

(2) Gen. xvi. 7—13. (3) Gen. xviii. 1, *&c.*

bring them on the Way: And Jehovah *said, Shall I hide from* Abraham *that Thing which I do?* And when *two of the Men* had turned their Faces from thence, and went towards *Sodom*; it is said, Abraham *ſtood yet before* Jehovah. And when *Abraham* was pleading in Favour of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, he ſaid, among other Things, to this *Jehovah* with whom he was converſing, *Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* And when the Diſcourſe was ended, *Moſes* ſays, that Jehovah *went his Way, as ſoon as he had left communing with* Abraham, *and* Abraham *returned to his Place.* Whence it is manifeſt beyond all Doubt, that one of theſe three Men who was left alone in Converſation with *Abraham*, is called *Jehovah*, and *the Judge of all the Earth.*

LVI. And when the two Men, which had left *Abraham* and *Jehovah* converſing together, came to *Sodom*, it is ſaid, (4) *And there came two* Angels *to* Sodom *at Even. And when the Morning aroſe, then the* Angels *haſtened* Lot. *And he ſaid*, that is, one of the Angels ſaid, *Eſcape for thy Life; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. And the Sun was riſen up-*

(4) Gen. xix. 1, &c.

on

on the Earth, when Lot *entered into* Zoar. *Then* Jehovah *rained upon* Sodom *and upon* Gomorrah *Brimstone and Fire from* Jehovah *out of Heaven.* Whence it is plain, that one of these two Angels is here also dignified with the Appellation of *Jehovah*, and yet is represented as acting under the Influence of another *Jehovah* in Heaven. So that it is manifest, here are two distinct Persons, or Angels, which appeared upon Earth, to each of which is given the Appellation of *Jehovah.*

LVII. Again, when *Jacob* lived with his Father *Laban*, and was giving an Account to his Wives of their Father's Conduct and Behaviour towards him, he says, (5) *And the Angel of God spake to me in a Dream, saying,* Jacob; *and I said, Here am I*; *and he said, I am the God of* Bethel, *where thou anointedst the Pillar, and vowed a Vow unto me.* Now the Vow which *Jacob* made at *Bethel* was this: (6) *If God be with me, and will keep me in this Way, that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on*; *so that I come again to my Father's House in Peace: Then shall* Jehovah *be my God.* Whence it is plain,

(5) Gen. xxiv. 47. xxxi. 11, 13.
(6) Gen. xxviii. 20, 21.

that an Angel of God, ſpeaking to *Jacob*, calls himſelf (7) *Jehovah* the *God of* Bethel.

LVIII. Thus alſo we find it ſaid, that (8) *the* Angel of Jehovah *appeared unto* Moſes, *in a Flame of Fire out of the Buſh. And* Moſes *ſaid, I will now turn aſide, and ſee this great Sight, why the Buſh is not burnt. And when* Jehovah *ſaw that he had turned aſide to ſee, God called unto him out of the Midſt of the Buſh. Moreover*, he ſaid, *I am the God of thy Fathers, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac, *and the God of* Jacob. *And* Moſes *hid his Face; for he was afraid to look upon God.* Where it is manifeſt, that an *Angel* is called by *Moſes*, *Jehovah*; and that the Angel calls himſelf, the God of *Abraham*, the God of *Iſaac*, and the God of *Jacob*.

LIX. Thus alſo, when the Children of *Iſrael* were marching towards the *Red-Sea*, it is ſaid, that (9) *the* Angel *of God, which went before the Camp of* Iſrael, *removed and went behind them, and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and*

(7) See alſo Gen. xxxii. 24, &c. and compare it with Hoſea xii. 4, 5.
(8) Exod. iii. 2, 6. Acts vii. 30, 35.
(9) Exod. xiv. 19.

ſtood

ſtood behind them. And yet, in another Place, it is ſaid, that (1) Jehovah *went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the Way; and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light.*

LX. It is alſo ſaid, when *Moſes* went up to Mount *Sinai*, that (2) Jehovah *called unto him out of the Mountain.* And again, that Moſes *came and called for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all theſe Words which* Jehovah *commanded him.* And that Moſes *returned all the Words of the People of* Iſrael *unto* Jehovah: That Jehovah *ſaid again unto* Moſes, *Go unto the People, and ſanctify them To-day and To-morrow, and be ready againſt the third Day: For the third Day* Jehovah *will come down, in the Sight of all the People, upon Mount* Sinai. *And the third Day Mount* Sinai *was altogether on a Smoke, becauſe* Jehovah *deſcended upon it in Fire.—And* Jehovah *came down upon Mount* Sinai.—*And* Jehovah *called up* Moſes *unto the Top of the Mount. And God ſpake all theſe Words, ſaying, I am* Jehovah *thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of* Egypt, *&c.* And yet St. *Stephen*, who was a *Jew*, affirms, that (3) *the Law* was given *by the*

(1) Exod. xiii. 21. (2) Exod. xix. 3, *&c.*
(3) Acts vii. 33, 38.

Diſpoſition of Angels: And that it was *an* Angel *that ſpake to* Moſes *from Mount* Sinai, *and with our Fathers, who received the lively Oracles to give unto us.* And St. *Paul* ſays, (4) that *the Law was ordained of* Angels. And, in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, he calls it (5) *the Word ſpoken of* Angels.

LXI. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that when (6) *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and ſeventy of the Elders of *Iſrael*, went up into the Mount, by the Command of God, it is ſaid, *They ſaw the God of* Iſrael;—*alſo they ſaw God, and did eat and drink:* That is, they ſaw the God of *Iſrael*, and did live to eat and drink. Whereas, when *Moſes* afterwards applied to God, and begged it of him, as a Favour, that he might ſee his Glory, or Face, that he might know him; (7) Jehovah *ſaid unto him, Thou canſt not ſee my Face; for there ſhall no Man ſee me, and live.* But, ſays he to *Moſes*, *I will make all my Goodneſs paſs before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of* Jehovah *before thee: And it ſhall come to paſs, while my Glory paſſeth by, that I will put thee in a Clift of*

(4) Gal. iii. 9. (5) Heb. ii. 2.
(6) Exod. xxiv. 10, &c.
(7) Exod. xxxiii. 20, &c.

the

the Rock, and will cover thee with my Hand while I pass by: And I will take away mine Hand, and thou shalt see what (8) *follows me; but my Face shall not be seen.* And accordingly when *Moses* returned to the Mount it is said, that JEHOVAH *descended in the Cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the Name of* JEHOVAH. *And* JEHOVAH *passed by before him, and proclaimed* JEHOVAH, JEHOVAH *God, merciful and gracious,* &c. *And* Moses *made haste, and bowed his Head and worshipped.*

LXII. Whence it is manifest, that this *Jehovah*, whom *Moses* made haste to worship, could not be that *Jehovah*, whose Face could not be seen, whom no Man could see and live; but the *Jehovah who followed* the invisible *Jehovah*, and was probably the same Person with that God of *Israel*, who was seen by *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the Seventy

(8) The Original, which in our Translation, we render *Back-Parts*, properly signifies any Thing or Person that is behind or followeth another. In which Sense it is used Gen. xviii. 10. When *Moses* saith, *And* Sarah *heard it in the Tent-door, which was* BEHIND *him.* So also, Joshua vi. 13. *And the Rearward followed* AFTER *the Ark.* So also, 2 Sam. x. 9. *When* Joab *saw that the Front of the Battle was against him before and* BEHIND. See also 2 Chron. xiii. 14, *&c. &c.*

Elders

Elders of *Israel:* And who is called by God in another Place, *the Similitude*, or Image, *of* Jehovah. For, says *Jehovah* unto the People of *Israel*, *with my Servant* Moses *will I speak Mouth to Mouth*; and (9) *the Similitude of* Jehovah *shall he behold.*

LXIII. Now this *Jehovah*, or this Similitude, Image, or Representative of *Jehovah*, which *Moses* beheld, is manifestly the same Person with that Guardian Angel of *Israel*, who had so often appeared already, and spoken to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, in the Name and Person of *Jehovah*; because it was on this very Account that *Moses* desired of God to shew him his Glory, that he might know the Person who was to conduct the *Israelites* into the promised Land. For thus it is, that *Moses* introduceth his Request: (1) *And* Moses *said unto* Jehovah, *See thou sayest unto me, bring up this People: And thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me.— Now therefore I pray thee, if I have found Grace in thy Sight, shew me now* (2) thy Way;

(9) Numb. xii. 7, 8.

(1) Exod. xxxiii. 12, &c.

(2) The original Word דרך is used in a great Variety of Senses in the Old Testament; the Septuagint Version renders it in this Place Σεαυτὸν, *thyself.* And in the

Way; *that I may know thee: And conſider that this Nation is thy People. And* Jehovah *ſaid, I will do this Thing that thou haſt ſpoken*, &c. *And he ſaid, thou canſt not ſee my Face; for there ſhall no Man ſee my Face and live. But it ſhall come to paſs, while my Glory paſſeth by, that I will put thee in a Clift of the Rock; and will cover thee with mine Hand, while I paſs by; and I will take away mine Hand, and thou ſhalt ſee what followeth me: But my Face ſhall not be ſeen*, &c.

LXIV. So that this Being which followed *Jehovah*, this *Way*, this *Glory* of *Jehovah*, whom the inviſible *Jehovah* proclaimed to be *Jehovah* as well as himſelf, is manifeſtly that Angel, who was appointed by God to conduct the *Iſraelites* into the promiſed Land. And therefore God ſaith to *Moſes*, in another Place, (3) *Behold I ſend an Angel before thee to keep thee in the*

the ſame Senſe it probably is, that *David*, praying to *Jehovah*, ſays, *God be merciful unto us, and bleſs us; and cauſe thy Face to ſhine upon us: That* thy Way (or Thou) *may be known upon Earth, thy ſaving Health among all Nations*, Pſal. lxvii. 2. and in Pſal. lxxvii. 13. He ſays, Thy Way, *O God*, (or *Thou*) *is in the Sanctuary*. And hence probably it is, that the Prophet *Amos* calls the God or Idol of *Beerſheba*, *the Way of* Beerſheba, *Am.* viii. 14.

(3) Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.

Way,

Way, and to bring thee into the Place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Transgressions; FOR MY NAME IS IN HIM. That is, behold I send an Angel before thee acting in my Stead, and by my Authority; beware of him, and obey his Voice, provoke him not, for *I have proclaimed him* Jehovah; and, as he acts by my Authority, and my Power is delegated unto him, as my *Similitude*, Image, or Representative, he will not pardon your Transgressions, for my Name of *Jehovah* is in him.

LXV. And hence it comes to pass, that this Second *Jehovah* is in a particular Manner distinguished by the Appellation of the *God of* Israel, the *Jehovah* of *Zion*, and the *Jehovah* of the *Jews*. For thus the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking by Authority from God the great *Jehovah*, saith, (4) *But I will have Mercy on the House of* Judah, and will save them by JEHOVAH THEIR GOD. And *Zechariah* the Prophet, speaking of the same People, saith, (5) *I will strengthen them in* JEHOVAH, *and they shall walk up and down* IN HIS NAME, *saith* Jehovah. Not in my Name, but in his

(4) Hos. i. 7. (5) Zech. x. 12.

Name,

Name, ſaith the inviſible *Jehovah*; that is, in the Name of *the God of* Iſrael, whom they had ſeen. And, in another Place, the ſame Prophet ſaith, (6) *Sing and rejoice, O Daughters of* Zion; *for, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the Midſt of thee, ſaith* JEHOVAH: *And many Nations ſhall be joined to* JEHOVAH *in that Day, and ſhall be my People: And I will dwell in the Midſt of thee, and thou ſhalt know that the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS *hath ſent me unto thee.* Where the *Jehovah of Zion* is plainly diſtinguiſhed from the *Jehovah of Hoſts*, and acknowledgeth himſelf to be ſent by him.

LXVI. The only Difficulty in this Caſe is this, that the *Jehovah* of *Zion*, though in this one Place he acknowledgeth himſelf to be ſent by the *Jehovah of Hoſts*, yet in other Places this *Jehovah of Zion*, or the Angel which appeared unto *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *Moſes*, does not always declare that he is deputed, and ſpeaks by the delegated Authority of the *Jehovah* of Hoſts; which is the general Meaning of the Phraſe of ſpeaking *in the Name* of any one; but actually and literally ſpeaks in his own Name, and calls himſelf *Jehovah*, and ſaith, *I am the God of* Abraham; and

(6) Zech. ii. 10, 11.

I am

I am the God of Bethel; and *I brought thee out of the Land of* Egypt, *&c.* and positively prohibits *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* from worshipping any other God but himself: *Thou*, says he, *shalt have none other Gods before me.* Thereby seeming to forbid even the Worship of the Supreme *Jehovah*, the *Jehovah of Hosts.*

LXVII. In Answer to which it is to be observed, that the *Hebrews* were far from being explicit and accurate in their Style, but left great Room for the (7) Imagination of the Reader to supply, and fill up the Deficiencies; and that it was very customary for one Person to speak in the Name and Character of another Person, without making the least Mention of the other Person, in whose Name the Words were spoken. Thus it is allowed by the universal Consent of all Antiquity, as well *Jews* as *Christians*, that, in the second Psalm, *David* is there speaking of the *Messiah*, and yet the whole Psalm is delivered in the Person and Character of *David* himself. *Why*, says he, *do the* Heathen

(7) Any one that does but open the *English* Bible, and observe the Number of Words that are inserted in *Italick* Characters, none of which are in the Original, will immediately perceive the Truth of this Assertion.

rage,

rage, and the People imagine a vain Thing? The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Counſel together againſt JEHOVAH, *and againſt his anointed. He that ſitteth in Heaven ſhall laugh;* JEHOVAH *ſhall have them in Deriſion. Then ſhall he ſpeak unto them in his Wrath, and vex them in his ſore Diſpleaſure. Yet have I ſet my King upon my holy Hill of* Sion. *I will declare the Decree* JEHOVAH *hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Aſk of me, and I will give thee the* Heathen *for thine Inheritance, and the uttermoſt Parts of the Earth for thy Poſſeſſion.*

LXVIII. Now it is plain, that the Decree here ſpoken of, though it was delivered unto *David*, yet the Purport thereof was not promiſed to *David*, but to ſome one of the Seed of *David*, 2 *Sam.* vii. 12, 14, 16. of whom God ſaid, *I will be his Father, and he ſhall be my Son.* And yet *David* ſaith, when ſpeaking of this Decree, *I will declare the Decree* JEHOVAH *hath ſaid unto* ME, THOU *art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.* And what is further remarkable is, that it was not *Jehovah*, but *Nathan* the Prophet, who ſpake to *David* by Authority from God.

LXIX. And

LXIX. And indeed nothing is more common than for Prophets and Angels to ſpeak authoritatively in their own Name, without introducing their Speech with an explanatory Preface, mentioning the Perſon in whoſe Name they ſpeak. Thus the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, (8) *The Word that* Iſaiah *the Son of* Amos *ſaw concerning* Judah *and* Jeruſalem—(9) *For behold the Lord, the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS *doth take away from* Jeruſalem *and from* Judah *the Stay and the Staff*, &c.—And then ſome Verſes afterwards, he ſaith, *And I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes ſhall rule over them*, &c. Where it is manifeſt, that the Prophet ſpeaks in this laſt Place in the firſt Perſon, in his own Name, without inſerting the Words, *and* JEHOVAH *ſaid unto me*, which ſeem neceſſary to have been inſerted, in order to make his Words intelligible, if he intended they ſhould be underſtood of *Jehovah*, and not of himſelf; but that he knew very well the *Jews* would, of themſelves, ſupply the Deficiency.

LXX. In like Manner, in the Revelation of St. *John*, though the Apoſtle declares, that it was delivered to him by an

(8) Iſai. ii. 1. (9) Iſai. iii. 1—4.

Angel,

Angel, and calls it (1) *The Revelation of* JESUS CHRIST, *which* GOD *gave unto him, to ſhew unto his Servants Things which muſt ſhortly come to paſs; and he ſent and ſignified it by his* ANGEL *unto his Servant* John: Yet through the whole Book this Angel ſpeaks indifferently in the firſt Perſon, either when he ſpeaks in the Name of God the Father, or in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or in his own Name. Thus, *Rev.* i. 10. St. *John* ſays, *I was in the Spirit on the* Lord's-Day, *and heard behind me a great Voice, as of a Trumpet, ſaying, I am* Alpha *and* Omega, *the Firſt and the Laſt*, &c. Now this Voice was undoubtedly the Voice of the Angel, who was ſent to teſtify unto him; and yet he ſpeaks in the firſt Perſon, ſaying, *I am* Alpha *and* Omega: And Verſe 13, when he turned to ſee the Voice that ſpake with him, he ſays, (2) *And when I ſaw him, I fell at his Feet as dead: And he laid his Right-hand upon me, ſaying unto me, Fear not: I am the Firſt and the Laſt; I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore.* Where it is manifeſt that this Angel ſpeaks at once both in the Name of God the Father, and of God the Son; becauſe he calls himſelf *Alpha* and *Omega*,

(1) Rev. i. 1. (2) Rev. i. 17.

and

and yet declares he was once *dead*. And yet, Chapter iii. 14. this ſame Angel ſpeaks only in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaying, *Theſe Things ſaith the* Amen, *the faithful and true Witneſs*, THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD: Which is the Character given by St. *Paul* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who ſtyles him (3) *the Firſt-born of the whole Creation.*

LXXI. However, towards the Cloſe of the whole Revelation, St. *John* ſays, (4) *I* John *ſaw theſe Things and heard them, and when I had heard and ſeen, I fell down to worſhip before the Feet of the Angel which ſhewed me theſe Things. Then ſaith he unto me, See thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the Sayings of this Book: Worſhip God. And he ſaith unto me, Seal not the Sayings of the Prophecy of this Book; for the Time is at Hand.—And behold I come quickly; and my Reward is with me, to give to every Man according as his Works ſhall be. I am* Alpha *and* Omega, *the Beginning and the End; the Firſt and the Laſt.—I* Jeſus *have ſent mine Angel to*

(3) Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, *i. e.* The Firſt-born of the whole Creation, and not, as we tranſlate it, *the Firſt-born of every Creature*, Col. i. 15.

(4) Rev. xxii. 8, &c.

teſtify

testify unto you these Things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, *and the bright and the Morning-Star.*

LXXII. Where it is manifest, that this *Angel* who had refused Worship and Adoration, and had declared himself to be a created Being, the Fellow-Servant of *John*, and of his Brethren the Prophets; yet because he was sent by *Jesus* to testify that Revelation, (5) which was given unto *Jesus* by *God*, he therefore speaks indifferently in the first Person, *I*, either when he speaks in his own Person, in the Person of *Jesus*, or in the Person of God the Father. So that it should seem no extraordinary Thing to find that exalted *Angel* whom God had proclaimed *Jehovah*, speaking also in the first Person, and saying, *I am that am*, or, I am the God of *Abraham*, or the God of *Bethel*, &c.

LXXIII. This however is manifest from the whole taken together, that the *Jews* had great Foundation in the Scriptures of the Old Testament for their Opinion of a Δεύτερος θεὸς, a Second or Secondary God, that is, one who acted by a deputed Power from the Supreme God; which *Philo* calls

(5) Rev. i. 1.

the

the Archangel with many Names: For it appears he was therein called, *The great Prince which ſtandeth for the Children of* Iſrael; *The Word* of God; *The Wiſdom* of God; *The Similitude*, or Image, of God; and *Jehovah*, or *the Name* of God.

LXXIV. Now then let us ſee what Foundation there is in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament for the Opinion of a third Perſon, whom the *Jews* ἀποθειάζουσιν, *paid divine Honours to.* And here it may be obſerved, that it hath been already ſhewed, that two of the Angels, which appeared to *Abraham* in the Similitude of Men, were each called by the Name of *Jehovah:* (6) For as the one which remained converſing with *Abraham*, while the other two went towards *Sodom*, was called *Jehovah*, ſo alſo is one of the two Angels which went to deſtroy *Sodom*, called *Jehovah* alſo: For, ſays *Moſes*, JEHOVAH *rained upon* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *Brimſtone and Fire from* JEHOVAH *out of Heaven.*

LXXV. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that in the Prophecy of (7) *Zechariah*, that Prophet, in declaring a Viſion which he had ſeen of a Candleſtick, with two Olive-

(6) See Sect. LVI. (7) Zech. iv. 1, &c.

Trees

Trees by it, ſays, that an *Angel* talked with him, and *Zechariah* ſaid unto him, *What be theſe two Olive-Trees upon the Right Side of the Candleſtick and upon the Left Side thereof? And I anſwered again and ſaid unto him, What be theſe two Olive-Branches, which through the golden Pipes, empty the golden Oil out of themſelves? And he anſwered me, and ſaid, Theſe are the* TWO ANOINTED ONES, THAT STAND *by the Lord of the whole Earth.*

LXXVI. Now it is manifeſt, that that Angel, whoſe *Portion is* Iſrael, is by the Prophet *Iſaiah* called the Angel of God's Preſence. For, ſays that Prophet (8) *I will mention the loving Kindneſs of* JEHOVAH, *and his great Goodneſs towards the Houſe of* Iſrael.—*In all their Afflictions he was afflicted, and the* ANGEL OF HIS PRESENCE *ſaved them.* And as this Angel, or *great Prince, which ſtandeth for the Children of* Iſrael, is by that Prophet *Daniel* diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Michael*; ſo it may be further proper to take Notice, that there is another Angel named by a particular Name in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, who is called (9) *Gabriel*; which

(8) Iſai. lxiii. 7, 9.

(9) As *Michael* ſignifies the *Similitude of God*; ſo *Gabriel* ſignifies, the *Strength*, or *Power of God.*

Gabriel,

Gabriel, according to St. (1) *Luke*, called himself also *the Angel that standeth in the Presence of God*. So that here are plainly two Angels, one of which, for Distinction-sake is called *Michael*, and the other *Gabriel*, which are described as standing in the Presence of God, or, as *Zechariah* expresseth it, *which stand by the Lord of the whole Earth*. As a Type of which, according to (2) *Philo Judæus*, it was, that, at the Building of the Tabernacle, God directed only two *Cherubim* to be placed over the *Mercy-Seat* in the *Holy of Holies*.

LXXVII. And as it appears, that the Archangel *Michael* is that Person who is called the *Second Essence* by the *Jews*, so, upon Inquiry, we shall find that the Angel *Gabriel* has a very good Title towards being considered as that *Third Essence*, or Being, to which the *Jews* paid divine Honours. For the Opinion of the *Jews*, with regard to this Third Being, was, (3) that " after " the Second Essence comes the *Holy Spi-* " *rit* which they place in this Royal Dig- " nity and Degree of Principality, because " it is the Will of the great Architect

(1) Luke i. 19.

(2) Phil. *Vit. Mosis*, lib. iii. p. 669. Edit. Franc. 1691.

(3) Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 15.

" to

" to appoint him to the Principality of " thoſe inferior Beings, who may want his " Aſſiſtance. Who therefore, obtaining " the third Place, confers on thoſe, who " are inferior to him, thoſe excellent Vir- " tues which he himſelf received from ano- " ther, to wit, from the divine *Logos*, his " Better and Superior, whom we before " ſaid was the Second to the ſupreme, un- " begotten, and almighty God." So ſays *Euſebius*, " All the *Hebrew* Divines, after " that God, who is over all, and after this " firſt-born Wiſdom, pay divine Worſhip " to the third and holy Power, which they " call the Holy Spirit, by which they them- " ſelves are illuminated when they are di- " vinely inſpired."

LXXVIII. Now it is manifeſt, that the Angel *Gabriel* was employed in the Adminiſtration of this Office, that is, in the illuminating of thoſe who were divinely inſpired; which the Prophet *Zechariah* metaphorically expreſſeth, by *emptying through golden Pipes, the golden Oil out of themſelves.* Since it was undoubtedly for this Purpoſe that *Gabriel* was ſent to the Prophet (4) *Daniel*, to *make him underſtand the Viſion:* And to *give him Skill and Underſtanding.* And therefore, it is probable, that this

(4) Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21, 22.

Angel *Gabriel* was that *holy Spirit* who was employed by God in illuminating the reſt of the Prophets of Old, and who is ſo often mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, under the Name of *the holy Spirit*, the *Spirit of God*, or the *Spirit of* Jehovah. For thus the Prophet (5) *Nehemiah* poſitively ſaith, that *Jehovah* teſtified againſt the Wicked *by his Spirit in his Prophets*. And the Prophet (6) *Zechariah* ſaith, *They made their Hearts as an Adamant Stone, leſt they ſhould hear the Law, and the Words which the* JEHOVAH OF HOSTS HATH SENT BY HIS SPIRIT *in the former Prophets.*

LXXIX. Which Words plainly prove this Spirit to have been an intelligent Agent, ſeparate and diſtinct from God, becauſe he was *ſent* by him. For though Men may be ſaid to be inſpired, or actuated, by the Spirit of God, when God is pleaſed to inſpire or influence them by virtue of his own almighty Power, without deputing any other Spirit to do it: Yet it is manifeſt that God cannot *ſend* himſelf; becauſe thoſe Terms imply a Contradiction. And therefore the Prophet *Iſaiah* is ſaid to have been *ſent* both by God and his Spirit.

(5) Neh. ix. 63. (6) Zech. vii. 12.

For,

For, says he, (7) *And now Jehovah God, and his Spirit hath sent me.* And in the Books of (8) *Judges* and *Samuel*, it is not said, that it was *Jehovah*, but the *Spirit of Jehovah*, which *came upon* Othoniel, *and* Gideon, *and* Jeptha, *and* Samson, *and* Saul, *and* David, to assist them in the Government of *Israel*, and the Execution of their Office. And the holy (9) *David*, in the penitential Psalm, which he composed on his Transgression with *Bathsheba*, begs of Almighty God, *not to take his* HOLY SPIRIT from him; *but*, says he, *restore me unto the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy* FREE SPIRIT.

LXXX. And therefore this holy Spirit is sometimes said to enter into Men when it inspired them. For thus the Prophet *Ezekiel* declares, that the Spirit (1) *entered into him when it spake unto him.* And the Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of *Moses*, saith, that (2) *God put his holy Spirit within him.* Which likewise shews this *Spirit* to have been a separate intelligent Agent,

(7) Isai. xlviii. 16.
(8) See Judg. iii. 10. vi. 34. xi. 29. xiii. 25. 1 Sam. x. 6. xvi. 13.
(9) Psal. li. 11, 12, 13.
(1) Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24.
(2) Isai. vi. 3.

diſtinct from God himſelf, becauſe it is ſaid, that it was *God* who PUT *this holy Spirit within him.*

LXXXI. And as it pleaſed God that this *holy Spirit* ſhould ſometimes manifeſt its Abode in particular People by ſome outward and viſible Token for the Sake of the By-Standers, that they might be obedient unto thoſe Perſons upon whom it abode; therefore it is, in the Language of the holy Scriptures, ſometimes ſaid to *reſt upon* thoſe on whom it was conferred. Thus, when God ordered *Moſes* to appoint Seventy Elders, who ſhould aſſiſt him in the Diſtribution of Juſtice, it is ſaid, that (3) *Jehovah came down in a Cloud, and ſpake unto him, and took of the Spirit that was* UPON HIM, *and gave it to the Seventy Elders; and it came to paſs, that when* THE SPIRIT RESTED UPON THEM, *they prophefied and did not ceaſe.*

LXXXII. Now it is obſerved of *Moſes*, that, when he came the laſt Time down from Mount *Sinai*, (4) *the Skin of his Face ſhone*, ſo that the People were afraid to come nigh him. It is therefore probable, that this Manifeſtation of the *Spirit* which

(3) Numb. xi. 16, 25. (4) Exod. xxxiv. 29.

was

was conferred on *Moſes*, and from him divided among the Seventy Elders, was a kind of lucid ſhining Appearance which reſted upon them as an outward and viſible Token of the inward Aſſiſtance and Illumination of the *Holy Spirit*. And therefore God alſo commanded *Moſes*, when he appointed *Joſhua* for his Succeſſor, to (5) *take* Joſhua *the Son of* Nun, and, ſays he, *thou ſhalt lay ſome of thine Honour* UPON HIM, *that all the Congregation of the Children of* Iſrael *may be obedient:* In like Manner, when *Eliſha* was appointed Succeſſor to *Elijah*, it is ſaid, *the Spirit of* Elijah, or the Spirit which was on *Elijah*, *doth* REST ON *Eliſha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themſelves before him.*

LXXXIII. But when this *Holy Spirit* was pleaſed to make its Appearance, either in the Figure and Form of an Angel or Man, the *Jews* then Ἀποθειάζουσιν, paid divine Honours to it: As *Daniel* did to the Angel (6) *Gabriel*, when it appeared unto him in the Form of a Man; for, ſaith he, (7) *I was afraid, and fell upon my Face:* As *Ezekiel* alſo did to the (8) *Holy Spirit*, when it

(5) Numb. xxvii. 20.
(6) Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21.
(7) Dan. viii. 17.
(8) Ezek. ii. 2. iii. 24.

appeared unto him in (9) *the Likeneſs of the Glory of* Jehovah; for, ſays he, *When* (1) *I ſaw it, I fell upon my Face.* Which was the uſual Method of Proſtration both with (2) him, and all the ancient (3) Prophets and Patriarchs, whenever they had any earneſt Requeſt to make to Almighty God; or when they apprehended that an Angel ſent from God was ſpeaking to them.

LXXXIV. And indeed it ſeems but reaſonable, that, beſide the Reſpect which is due to this *Holy Spirit* on account of the Excellency of its own Nature, there ſhould be a further Degree of Reverence and Regard paid unto him, in proportion to the Degree of Power or Authority over us, which is committed unto him from God: Since it is but juſt that whatever Degree of Superiority the Almighty is pleaſed to give to any one Being over others, there ſhould be a ſuitable Degree of Submiſſion and Obedience paid to that Being, in Pro-

(9) Ezek. i. 28.
(1) Ezek. i. 28. iii. 3. xliii. 3, 4. xliv. 4.
(2) Ezek. ix. 8. xi. 13.
(3) Gen. xvii. 3. Numb. xvi. 22. xxii. 31. Joſh. v. 14. See alſo Matt. xxvi. 39. Mark xiv. 35. Though he firſt kneeled down, Luke xxii. 41.

portion

portion to the Extent of Authority delegated from God.

LXXXV. Not that Angels, as Angels, have any Right to divine Worſhip or Adoration upon their own Account; and therefore all (4) *voluntary Humility and Worſhipping of Angels*, even the higheſt, out of our own Head, or without a Commiſſion from God for ſo doing, would be Idolatry: which was the Reaſon why that Angel, who was ſent from God to ſhew the Revelation to St. *John*, reprimanded the Apoſtle, when he (5) *fell down to* Worship *before the Feet of the Angel which ſhewed him theſe Things*, ſaying, *See thou do it not.—Worſhip God.* Becauſe St. *John* ſeems to have paid this *Worſhip* to the Angel on his own Account, without any Regard to the Authority by which he was ſent; which would have been Idolatry. But when Angels are commiſſioned from God, with any Degree of Power over us, and are ſent in his Name; then it cannot be Idolatry, to pay them ſuch a Degree of Adoration, as is

(4) Col. ii. 18. —— Whether our Tranſlation is ſtrictly juſt, I will not ſay; but ſure I am, that it correſponds to the Meaning of the Apoſtle. However *Grotius* may be conſulted by any one who wants further Satisfaction.

(5) Rev. xxii. 8.

proportionate to the Authority with which they are invested: Because such Adoration or Worship, not being paid them on their own Account, but on Account of the Authority which hath been delegated unto them, terminates in the one only and supreme God. See Sect. CXIII, CXIV.

LXXXVI. Which Method of Reasoning may be pursued from the highest Degree of Worship, payable to the most perfect Being next to God, acting with the highest Authority which God is pleased to communicate or delegate, down to the lowest Degree of Deference or Respect, which, Reason instructs us, is proper to pay to some of our own Fellow-Creatures, for the Preservation of a due Subordination in Society: Since in this Sense it is, that (6) *not only the Powers which be, are ordained of God*; but also that those Prophets and Judges of *Israel* (7) *to whom the Word of God came*, are called *Gods*; because they spoke by his Authority, and acted in his Stead.

LXXXVII. Which Doctrine of the *Jews* with regard to God the Father, God

(6) Rom. xiii. 1.

(7) See Exod. xxii. 18. Pf. lxxxii. 1, 2, 6. John x. 34, 35.

the

the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, seems therefore not only to be supported by the Doctrine of the Old Testament, but also reconcilable to Reason; since, if we do but reflect on the immense Distance there is between the imperfect State of human Beings, and the infinite Perfection of Almighty God, we cannot but think that God should chuse to govern this Universe by a gradual Subordination of Beings, one superior to another; rather than to be the sole Director or Governor of every the most minute Affair: Not that such a Government would be troublesome to God, or that he would be unable to perform it, or that God can possibly divest himself of the supreme Authority, universal Inspection, and general Superintendency even of the minutest Transaction in the whole Creation: But because it seems more consistent with the divine Goodness and Wisdom, to employ the various Works of his Hands, in the Exercise of those Powers and Faculties with which he hath endowed them; rather than personally and immediately to interpose in the Conduct of those Transactions, for which he hath created Numbers of Beings furnished with Abilities sufficient to perform them.

LXXXVIII. It is likewiſe reaſonable to believe that the ſame Method of Government, which God hath ordained in this ſublunary Globe, is carried on by a Kind of *Analogy* through the whole Creation. And that as the great Creator hath been pleaſed to conſtitute this World in ſuch a Manner, as to require the Authority of ſome Perſons preſiding over others, in Families, in Towns, in Cities, in Provinces, in Kingdoms, in Empires; ſo probably in the great Expanſe of Spirits, there are Degrees of Superiority analogous to theſe ſublunary Diſpoſitions; which we have no better Method of expreſſing, than by calling them in Alluſion to the Things which we do know (8) *Thrones*, *Dominions*, *Principalities*, *Powers*.

LXXXIX. And as this Doctrine is reconcilable with the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, the Sentiments of the *Jewiſh* Divines, and with Reaſon; ſo is it alſo with the Scriptures of the New Teſtament. For, ſays St. *Paul*, (9) *Though there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven or Earth, (for there be Gods many, and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the*

(8) Col. i. 16.

(9) 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

Father,

Father, of whom are all Things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all Things, and we by him. That is, there is but one supreme God, in comparison of whom there is (1) *none other but he*; and with regard to whom Jesus the Christ is only to be called *Lord* and not God: The Father having *given him a Name that is above every* other *Name, that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is* LORD *to the Glory of God the Father.* Phil. ii. 9, 11.

XC. Which God the Father, as he is described by *Moses*, under the Character of that God, (2) *whose Face cannot be seen; for no Man can see him and live*; so also St. *Paul* characterises him as that God, who is (3) *the blessed and* ONLY *Potentate, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords,* WHO ONLY *hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no Man can approach unto,* WHOM NO MAN HATH OR CAN SEE. And St. *John* says, (4) *No Man hath seen God at any Time.* Which *one, only, invisible* God cannot therefore possibly be the

(1) Mar. xii. 32.
(2) Exod. xxxiii. 20, 23.
(3) 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16.
(4) John i. 18. vi. 46. 1 John iv. 12.

same

ſame with that *God* who (5) *was manifeſted in the Fleſh.*

XCI. Whence it appears, that here is a Diſtinction made by the Apoſtles between the Divinity of God the Father and of God the Son: And that although the Term of *God*, as when we ſay, There are Gods many, may be attributed to the Son, yet that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, as when we ſay, There is but one God, this Appellation is only to be attributed to God the Father; and accordingly the *Nicene* Creed, as all the ancient Creeds did, begins with ſaying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty*, &c. And the Reaſon aſſigned for this Diſtinction by St. *Paul* is, becauſe God the Father is alone to be conſidered as *the* (6) *firſt Cauſe*; for, ſays he, *there is one God the Father*, OF WHOM ARE ALL THINGS: And therefore God the Father is by the Son himſelf ſtyled (7) *the only true God.* For, ſays he, when ſpeaking of the Father, *This is eternal Life, that they may know* THEE THE ONLY TRUE GOD, *and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.*

(5) 1 Tim. iii. 16.
(6) See Sect. 3.
(7) John xvii. 3.

XCII. As

XCII. As therefore the first Self-existent Cause of whom are all Things, can alone be properly called God, when the Title of God is given in the Scriptures to any other Being but the Father, we are to understand this, only as expressive of some God-like Power, which hath been given or communicated to that Being by God the Father. And accordingly *Jehovah* said unto *Moses*, when he sent him to *Pharaoh*, and communicated to him the Power of working Miracles, (8) *Thou shalt be to him instead of God.* Which he thus expresseth in another Place, (9) *See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh.* When all Power therefore in Heaven and Earth was given to the Son, he was made a God to those Beings over whom that Power was given, that is, over those Beings which inhabit this Heaven and this Earth, and over those only, since it is manifest at the same Time, that he must be excepted who did give this Power unto him; and therefore St. *Paul* positively declares, when speaking of the Son, that (1) *when it is said, All Things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted,*

(8) Exod. iv. 16.
(9) Exod. xvii. 1.
(1) 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.

which

which did put all things under him: and when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then, ſays he, *ſhall the Son alſo*, that is, even in his higheſt State of exalted Glory, *be ſubject unto him that did put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

XCIII. And as that ſecondary Eſſence among the *Jews* whoſe Portion was *Iſrael*, was by them called *the Word* and *the Wiſdom* of God: So it is undoubted that theſe Appellations were from thence transferred, by the Apoſtles of *Chriſt* who were born and bred *Jews*, into the Chriſtian Religion, and applied by them to *Jeſus* the *Chriſt*, who is in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament called (2) *the Word* and *the Wiſdom of* God.

XCIV. And as that ſecondary Eſſence was by the *Jews* called *the Image of God*, ſo is the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* called in the Language of the New Teſtament, (3) *the Image of the inviſible God:* That is, the viſible Image, or delegated Repreſentative in Power of the inviſible God. For that this is the ſcriptural Meaning of the Word *Image*, when applied to the Image of an

(2) John i. 1, 14. 1 Cor. i. 24.
(3) Col. i. 15.

inviſible

inviſible Being, ſeems plain from many Paſſages, but in particular from that wherein it is ſaid, that Man was created (4) *in the Image of God:* Becauſe as ſoon as God is repreſented by *Moſes* as having ſaid, *Let us make Man in our Image after our own Likeneſs:* Then immediately follows, and *let him have Dominion over the Fiſh of the Sea; and over the Fowls of the Air*, &c. And therefore the *Arabic* Verſion of the Bible renders this laſt Sentence to this Purpoſe, that *by the Image which God enobled, he created him to have Dominion.* And the wiſe Son of *Sirach* obſerves, that (5) *the Lord created Men, and endued them with Strength, by themſelves, and made them according to his Image; and put the Fear of Man upon all Fleſh, and gave him Dominion over Beaſts and Fowls.* And that this Word, Εικὼν, *Image*, when applied to Perſons, was generally underſtood to denote the one as being the Deputy or Repreſentative of the other, in Power and Dominion, is plain from an Expreſſion in *Baſil* upon this very Subject. Where he manifeſtly uſeth this Word to ſignify a Viceroy: When, in Anſwer to this Objection, *But how then, if there are two diſtinct Perſons (in the God-*

(4) Gen. i. 26, 27.
(5) Ecclus. xvii. 1, 3, 4.

head)

head) do we not make two Gods? To which he anſwers, (6) *Why juſt as a King, and the Deputy of a King, do not make two Kings.*

XCV. And as the *Jews* ſuppoſed their *Logos* to be the ſame Perſon with that (7) *Angel of God's Preſence*, who is repreſented in the Old Teſtament, as being the Guardian Angel of the Children of *Iſrael*, ſo alſo do the Scriptures of the New Teſtament ſuppoſe their *Logos*, or the Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be that very Angel, who brought Redemption to *Iſrael*; and therefore St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of the Deliverance of the *Iſraelites* from their *Egyptian* (8) Bondage, ſaith, *Moreover, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all paſſed through the Sea; and were all baptized unto* Moſes *in the Cloud, and in the Sea; and did all eat the ſame ſpiritual Meat; and did all drink that ſame ſpiritual Drink: For they drank of the ſame ſpiritual Rock that followed them,* AND THAT ROCK WAS CHRIST. He alſo ſaith, that by their Miſconduct in the Wilderneſs, *they tempted Chriſt*, and *were* therefore *deſtroyed of Ser-*

(6) Ὅτι βασιλεὺς λέγεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκών, καὶ οὐ δύο βασιλεῖς. Baſil de *Spir. Sanc.* c. xviii.

(7) Exod. xxiii. 20, 21. xxxiii. 2. Numb. xx. 16.

(8) 1 Cor. x. 1—9.

pents.

pents. And in his Epiſtle to the (9) *Hebrews*, he attributes the Perſeverance of *Moſes* in quitting *Pharaoh*'s Court, in obedience to the Commands of the *Jehovah*-Angel, and refuſing to be called the Son of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, to his eſteeming *the Reproach of Chriſt*, i. e. the (1) Reproach of the *Egyptians* for *Chriſt's* Sake, *greater Riches than the Treaſures in* Egypt.

XCVI. And as the *Jews* held their *Logos* to have been in the Beginning with God; and to be δεύτερον θεὸν, a ſecond God: So alſo do the Scriptures of the New Teſtament acknowledge their *Logos*, or the Lord Jeſus, to be called (2) *Emmanuel*, which being interpreted is, *God with us.* He is therefore frequently, in the Language of the New Teſtament, ſpoken of as ſuch. Thus *John* the Evangeliſt poſitively ſays, that (3) *the Word was God.* And St. *Paul* calls him, (4) *God manifeſted in the Fleſh.* And St. *Thomas*, when ſpeaking to him, fully and poſitively calleth him, (5) *my Lord and my God.*

(9) Heb. xi. 26.

(1) This Method of ſpeaking was very cuſtomary among the *Hebrews*. See Pſal. lxxxix. 50. Gal. vi. 17. 1 Pet. iv. 13.

(2) Matth. i. 23.

(3) John i. 1.

(4) 1 Tim. iii. 16.

(5) John xx. 28.

XCVII.

XCVII. But then these Scriptures are in other Places very expressive, with regard to the Superiority of God the Father, over God the Son: Thus St. *Peter*, in that Speech which he makes to the *Jews*, *Acts* ii. 33. where he is applying a Passage, out of the cxth *Psalm*, to our Saviour, says, *For David is not ascended into the Heavens: But he saith himself*, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou "on my Right Hand, until I make thine "Enemies thy Footstool." *Therefore*, says St. *Peter*, *let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath* MADE *that same Jesus whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ*. Which shews that the Son could not have been from all Eternity co-equal to the Father, since the Father could not have made him either Lord or Christ, if he had no Superiority over him. And accordingly, St. *Paul* applies that Text of Scripture to *Jesus Christ*, which *David* maketh use of in the Psalms, when he saith, (6) *Thy Throne*, O GOD, *is for ever and ever*; *a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom: Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity*; *therefore God*, EVEN THY GOD, *hath anointed thee*

(6) Heb. i. 8.

with

with the Oil of Gladneſs above thy Fellows. In which Paſſage, though *Chriſt* is undoubtedly called *God*, yet the Superiority of God the Father over this God, is manifeſtly preſerved; becauſe he is called even *his God.* And the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, when he was departing out of this Life, not only (7) *offered up Prayers and Supplications* unto the Father, *as unto him that was able to ſave him from Death*; but alſo (8) *cried with a loud Voice, ſaying*, My God, my God, *why haſt thou forſaken me?*

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that in order to invalidate this Argument, it is ſaid, that this laſt Expreſſion was ſpoken only in regard to his human Nature, with reſpect to which he was undoubtedly inferior to God the Father; but in anſwer to this, it is to be obſerved, that in the firſt Paſſage here alluded to in the cxth Pſalm, our Saviour is there called *Lord*, and yet *Jehovah* is ſaid by St. *Peter*, to have made him both *Lord* and *Chriſt.* And in the ſecond Paſſage here quoted, the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks of him as *God*, yet at the ſame Time declares God the Father to be his God. And the ſame Method of ſpeaking is continued in the Scriptures, not only while he was

(7) Heb. v. 7. (8) Matth. xxvii. 46.

here

here in this World, ſubject to Mortality; but after he had overcome Death, and the Grave, even after his Reſurrection; at which Time, he alſo acknowledges God the Father to be his God: For when *Mary* would have approached unto him, he ſaid, (9) *Touch me not*, or, do not ſtay to touch or mind me at preſent, *for I am not yet aſcended unto my Father; but go to my Brethren, and ſay unto them, I aſcend unto my Father, and your Father,* UNTO MY God, AND YOUR God. And the Apoſtle *Paul*, in ſpeaking of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, even after his Aſcenſion, after his Exaltation, after he had been ſeated (1) *at the Right Hand of God, far above all Principality, and Power, and Might, and Dominion*, ſpeaks of God the Father, as ſtill being *his God*. For ſays he, (2) *Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. And again, he ſaith to the *Epheſians, Wherefore*, I ceaſe not to give Thanks for you, that *the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wiſdom. And in the Revelation of St. *John*, the Apoſtle ſpeaking of *Jeſus*, ſaith, (3) *who hath made us Kings and Prieſts* TO HIS GOD AND FATHER.

(9) John xx. 17.
(1) Eph. i. 20, 21.
(2) Eph. i. 3.
(3) Τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. Rev. i. 6.

XCIX. And indeed the whole Conduct and Behaviour and Doctrine of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, while he was in this World, was correspondent thereto; for he not only speaks of the Superiority of God the Father in general Words, as when he says, in express Terms, (4) *the Father is greater than I*; and again, *the Father is greater than all*: But acknowledges that his whole Conduct, not only while he was in this World, but before he came into it, before he had taken human Nature upon himself, was in Submission to the Will and Commands of God. For he acknowledges, in numberless Places, that it was the Father who *sent* him, and gave him a *Commandment* what to do. (5) *For*, says he, *I must work the Work of him that* SENT *me*; and again he says, *The Father which* SENT *me*, *he* GAVE ME A COMMANDMENT, *what I should say, and what I should speak.* And again, *As the Father* GAVE ME COMMANDMENT, *so do I.* We may therefore fairly argue, as our Saviour himself does upon another Occasion, that (6) *as the Servant is not* equal to *his Lord*, *neither is he*

(4) John xiv. 28. x. 29
(5) John ix. 4. xii. 49. xiv. 31, *&c. &c.*
(6) John xiii. 16.

that

that is sent equal to *him that sent him.* He therefore also acknowledged, that all the Power he was possessed of, not only natural, but supernatural, was *received* from the Father, and was (7) *given* unto him. And this not only while he was upon Earth, while he was clogged and fettered with the Shackles of Mortality: But even after his Resurrection, and Ascension, and Exaltation, he declares, that all the Power which he had in Heaven and Earth, was (8) *given unto him* of the Father. And some Years after that, St. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the (9) *Corinthians*, saith, *But I would have you know, that the Head of every Man is Christ; and the Head of the Woman is the Man; and the* Head of Christ is God.

C. And as *Moses* was commanded by God to obey the Voice of the *Angel*, which he sent to keep him in the Way; and to provoke him not, because *his Name was in him*; so the Lord *Jesus Christ* declares, that the Honour which is due unto him is on the Father's Account; that is, because he was sent from the Father: For, says

(7) John v. 26. xvii. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, &c. &c.
(8) Matth. xxviii. 18.
(9) 1 Cor. xi. 3.

he,

he, (1) *The Father hath committed all Judgment to the Son, that all Men ſhould honour the Son, even as they honour the Father:* And then he adds the Reaſon, For, *he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath ſent him.*

CI. It is likewiſe very remarkable, that in this Place, as well as in *Exodus* xxiii. 21, where God ordereth *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* to obey the Angel which was ſent in his Name, the Incitement offered for *honouring* the one, as well as *obeying* the other, is the Power of *Judgment*, that was committed unto them. For, ſays God to *Moſes*, *Beware of him, obey his Voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your Tranſgreſſions.* And in the New Teſtament, our Saviour obſerves, that ALL JUDGMENT WAS COMMITTED TO THE SON; *that all Men ſhould honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.*

CII. It is a Remark made by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, that the Worſhip which is due from Man to God, is on account of the Dominion he hath over him. For, ſays he, " (2) God is a relative Term, which " has Reference to Subjects, and the

(1) John v. 22, 23.
(2) Newt. *Prin. Schol. gener.*

" Word

" Word Deity, denotes the Dominion of " God, not over his own Body, (as the " ancient Philoſophers imagined, who " called God the Soul of the World) but " over Subjects." And again, he ſaith, " We arrive at the Knowledge of God, " by conſidering his Properties and At- " tributes; by inquiring into the wiſe " Formation and Conſtitution of all " Things; and ſearching into their final " Cauſes; but we worſhip and adore him " on account of his Dominion." So that the Son becometh our God, not ſo much on account of his having been employed in our Creation, and *that by him God created the Worlds*, as becauſe *all Judgment is committed unto him*, this being the great *Obligation* of all Duty: There being no Reaſon for Men to lay themſelves under any Reſtraint, in obeying or diſobeying the Commands of any Being, which hath no Power over them.

CIII. Now the Reaſon why Almighty God was pleaſed to commit this Power of Judgment unto the Son, is alſo aſſigned; for, ſays our Lord Jeſus, (3) *The Father hath given to the Son Authority to execute Judgment; becauſe he is the Son of Man.* That is, as a Reward for having taken hu-

(3) John v. 26, 27.

man

man Nature upon him. For, upon the Fall of *Adam*, this Son of God, being willing to undertake the Redemption of Mankind, (5) *he was* accordingly (6) ANOINTED *of God for to do whatsoever his Hand and his Council predetermined to be done*. That is, he was (7) *anointed* to do and to suffer, whatsoever it should please God for him to do or to suffer. And for an Encouragement in which Undertaking, God was pleased to propose to this his anointed Son, that on the Performance of such Things as God should appoint for him to do, he should be exalted to (8) *Joy* and *Glory*.

CIV. When therefore, in the Fulness of Time, it pleased God to send forth his Son, who being (9) *in the Form of God* nevertheless divested himself of that Glory

(5) Acts iv. 27, 28.

(6) Hence called the *Messiah*, which literally signifies the *anointed*.

(7) Or *appointed*. This Term of *anointing* being made use of, instead of *appointing*, in compliance with the human Custom of *anointing* Persons, when they were *appointed* to the Administration of particular Offices, such as either *King*, *Priest*, or *Prophet*. See 1 Sam. xiii. 1. 2 Sam. ii, 7. Exod. xxix. 7. Isai. lxi. 1.

(8) Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 11.

(9) Phil. ii. 6.

which he had with the Father before the World was, and (1) *came down from Heaven, not to do his own Will, but the Will of him that ſent him*; (2) *The Spirit* having *teſtified beforehand the Sufferings of* Chriſt, *and the Glory that ſhould follow*; he therefore (3) *for the Joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the Shame*: (4) *Wherefore God alſo hath highly* EXALTED *him, and* (5) *ſet him at his own Right-hand* EXALTED, (6) *and hath given him a Name that is above every Name, that* (7) IN THE NAME OF JESUS *every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth: And that every Tongue ſhould confeſs that* Jeſus Chriſt *is* LORD *to the Glory of* GOD *the Father.*

CV. Wherefore *Jeſus* having (8) *finiſhed the Work which his Father gave him to do, and manifeſted his Name unto Men, that they might know God the Father the only*

(1) 1 John iv. 34. v. 30. vi. 38, 42.
(2) 1 Pet. i. 11.
(3) Heb. xii. 2.
(4) Phil. ii. 9.
(5) Acts ii. 33. Eph. i. 20, &c.
(6) Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.
(7) Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι.
(8) John xvii. 4. vi. 3.

true

true God, and Jesus Christ *whom he hath sent*; and having persisted therein unto Death, (9) *that he might reconcile both* Jews *and* Gentiles *unto God in one Body by the Cross:* And having been (1) *for the Suffering of Death crowned with Glory and Honour*; instead of the Portion of *Israel*, which had been before the Line or Boundary of his Inheritance; he had now (2) *Power given him over all Flesh.* And (3) *all Nations* were made of one Blood under him, and *the Bounds of their Habitations* were brought within the Line of his Inheritance: And (4) *there was given unto him Dominion and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations, and Languages should serve him.*

CVI. From this Time forth, therefore, his Disciples were sent unto (5) *all Nations*, to (6) *preach the Gospel unto every Creature.* And what is remarkable is, that, from this Time, the same *Holy Spirit*, which under the *Mosaical* Dispensati-

(9) Eph. ii. 16.
(1) Heb. ii. 9.
(2) John xvii. 2.
(3) Acts xvii. 26.
(4) Dan. vii. 14.
(5) Matt. xxviii. 10.
(6) Mark xvi. 15.

on (7) ſpake by the Prophets, and had only illuminated the Minds of thoſe of the Sons of *Iſrael*, to whom the *Word of God came*, was, through the Interceſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, conferred upon all Mankind that believe on him, of what Nation ſoever they be, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*; and *ſhed forth* his benign Influence on all thoſe who come to God through *Jeſus Chriſt*: That (8) *through him both* Jews *and* Gentiles *may have an Acceſs by one Spirit unto the Father*. That (9) *the Bleſſing of Abraham*, wherein it was promiſed, that in his Seed ſhould all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed, *might come on the* Gentiles *through* Jeſus Chriſt, *that they might receive the Promiſe of the Spirit through Faith*: And that (1) *all might be baptized into one Body, whether they be* Jews *or* Gentiles, *whether they be bond or free, and might all be made to drink into one Spirit*.

CVII. When therefore *Jeſus Chriſt the Lord* was raiſed from the Dead, and formally inveſted in the Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom which (2) *the Father had ap-*

(7) 2 Pet. i. 21. and Nicene Creed.
(8) Eph. ii. 18.
(9) Gal. iii. 14.
(1) 1 Cor. xii. 13.
(2) Luke xxii. 29.

pointed

pointed unto him; having received from the Father the Promise of the Holy Spirit, he shed forth this Holy Spirit (3) *abundantly*, as well upon the (4) *Gentiles* as the *Jews*, putting no Difference between them. Which Holy Spirit is sometimes, in the Language of the Scriptures of the New Testament, called *the Spirit of God* the Father, because he (5) proceedeth from the Father who sent him unto us; and sometimes *the Spirit of the Son*, or *the Spirit of* Christ, because it was by the Intercession of *Jesus the Christ* that the Supply of this Holy Spirit was sent unto us; and is also called (6) *the Spirit of Truth*, because it was sent to *guide Mankind into all Truth*.

CVIII. Now St. *John* plainly calleth that *Holy Spirit*, by which he was inspired with the Book of *Revelations*, an *Angel*. For his Words are these, (7) *The Revelation of* Jesus Christ, *which God gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants Things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by* HIS ANGEL *unto his Servant*

(3) Tit. iii. 6.
(4) Acts xi. 15.
(5) John xv. 26.
(6) John xvi. 13. xiv. 26. 1 John ii. 20, 27.
(7) Rev. i. 1.

John. And yet through this whole Book, he calls this Revelation, the Dictates of the Spirit. (8) *He that hath Ears to hear*, ſays he, *let him hear what the* SPIRIT *ſaith unto the Churches.* And it is very remarkable, that although the Virgin *Mary* is poſitively ſaid to have been (9) *found with Child of the Holy Spirit*, and to have *conceived of the Holy Spirit*; yet the Perſon ſent to her from God upon this Occaſion, calls himſelf *an Angel*, and in particular, (1) *the Angel* Gabriel *that ſtandeth in the Preſence of God*; who under the old Covenant had been ſent to inſpire (2) *Daniel* with Skill and Underſtanding.

CIX. Which (3) *Angel* GABRIEL *being ſent from God* unto the Virgin *Mary*, *The* ANGEL, ſays St. *Luke*, *came in into her, and ſaid, Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: Bleſſed art thou among Women. Behold, thou ſhalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and ſhalt call his Name* Jeſus. *Then ſaid* Mary *unto the* ANGEL, *How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a Man? And the* ANGEL *an-*

(8) Rev. ii. 7, 11, 17, 19. iii. 6, 13, 22.
(9) Matt. i. 18, 20.
(1) Luke i. 19, 26.
(2) Dan. viii. 16. ix. 21.
(3) Luke i. 26.

ſwered

ſwered and ſaid unto her, The Holy Spirit *ſhall come upon thee, and the Power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee; therefore alſo that holy Thing, which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God. And* Mary *ſaid, Behold the Handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy Word.*

CX. Which is all the Account we have of this Affair, but that after ſhe returned from her Couſin *Elizabeth*'s, where ſhe had remained three Months, (5) *ſhe was found to be with Child, before ſhe and* Joſeph, *to whom ſhe was eſpouſed, had come together; then* Joſeph *her Huſband being a* (6) *good-natured Man, and not willing to make her a public Example, was minded to put her away privately. But while he thought on theſe Things, behold* the Angel *of the Lord appeared unto him in a Dream, ſaying,* Joſeph, *thou Son of* David, *fear not to take unto thee* Mary *thy Wife: For that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit. Then* Joseph, *being raiſed from his Sleep,*

(5) Matt. i. 18, 19, 20.

(6) Δίκαιος. This Word is often uſed to ſignify a *good-natured* Perſon, in which Senſe alſo the Word *juſtus* is frequently uſed in the *Latin* Tongue. And in this Senſe this Word ought to be underſtood. Acts x. 22. 1 John i. 9.

did as the Angel *of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his Wife: And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son.*

CXI. The pre-existent Spirit of the *Logos* being therefore, by the wonderful Power and Will of God, conveyed into the Womb of the Virgin by the Ministration of the Holy Spirit, she conceived and brought forth *Jesus:* By which Union of that exalted Spirit with human Nature, the *Logos* became incarnate, and was made Man. Which *Logos* did, by this Piece of Condescension, so far ἐκένωσε ἑαυτὸν, (7) *empty himself*, and divest himself of that Glory of his antecedent State, which he had with the Father, before the World was, that, Sin only excepted, he became liable and subject to all the Infirmities of our Nature. And therefore, during the Time of his Continuance here upon Earth, he is represented all along as being under the Guidance and Conduct of the *Holy Spirit.*

CXII. He is accordingly said to have been (8) *led up of the Spirit into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil:* And that

(7) Phil. ii. 7. (8) Matth. iv. 1.

when

when the (9) *Devil had ended his Temptation, Jesus returned in the Power of the Spirit into* Galilee. That afterwards, he (1) *cast out Devils by the Spirit of God*, which (2) *descended* upon him at his Baptism, in a (3) visible Manner, and *abode upon him* for some Time. He is therefore said to have been (4) *anointed with the Holy Spirit, and with Power:* And that when he was in an Agony praying with Vehemence to God, that, if possible, the Cup of his Afflictions might pass from him, (5) *an Angel appeared unto him from Heaven, strengthening him:* That it was through (6) *the eternal Spirit*, that *he offered himself without Spot to God* upon the Cross: That when he was in the Grave, he was (7) *quickened by the*

(9) Luke iv. 13, 14.
(1) Matth. xii, 8.
(2) John i. 22.
(3) *i. e.* By the Descent of a lucid shining Appearance which alighted, and rested upon him, ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν, *as a Dove.* Not that this alludes to the Form and Figure of the Appearance, as if it was in the Shape of a Dove; but to the Manner of its Descent, which descended and alighted upon our Saviour, as a Dove descends and lights upon any thing. See Sect. lxxxii. and *Whitby* on *Luke* iii. 26.
(4) Acts x. 38. See Note in Sect ciii.
(5) Luke xxii. 42, 43.
(6) Heb. ix. 14.
(7) 1 Pet. iii. 18.

Spirit, and (8) *declared to be the Son of God with Power, according to the Spirit of Holineſs, by the Reſurrection from the Dead.*

CXIII. And indeed it does not appear, either in the Old or New Teſtament, that the *Logos* had any Power over the Holy Spirit, till after his Aſcenſion, (9) when *all Power was given unto him, both in Heaven and Earth.* For, ſaid Jeſus to his Diſciples, (1) *It is expedient for you, that I go away; for if I go not away, the* Comforter *will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will ſend him unto you. For,* (2) *I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth,* (3) *which proceedeth from the Father: Whom I will ſend to you from the Father.* For, as St. *John* remarks, (4) *the Spirit was not yet given, becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified.* He therefore after his Reſurrection, commanded his Diſciples (5) *not to depart from* Jeruſalem, till after his Aſ-

(8) Rom. iii. 4.
(9) Matth. xxviii. 18, 19.
(1) John xvi. 7.
(2) John xiv. 16.
(3) John xv. 26.
(4) John vii. 39.
(5) Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 4.

cenſion,

cenſion, but to *wait for the Promiſe of the Father*. Which having (6) *received of the Father, he ſhed it forth* upon them. From which Time, *this Spirit* is indifferently called *the Spirit of God*, and (7) *the Spirit of Chriſt*, or (8) *the Spirit of the Son*; becauſe the Son had now obtained Power of the Father, to ſend him, not to the *Jews* only, but alſo to the *Gentiles*; that all Nations might be baptized, (9) *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*; (1) *that the offering up of the* Gentiles *might be acceptable, being ſanctified by the Holy Spirit*. It ſeems therefore highly reaſonable, that we ſhould pay divine Homage to that Holy Spirit in proportion to the Degree of Power which hath been delegated to him, from the Almighty; and that it is our Duty to pray to him, for the Communication of thoſe *ſanctifying* Graces, which he hath received Power from God the Father, through the Son, to diſtribute to his Diſciples. I do not ſay that we ought to pray to him for the Forgiveneſs of our Sins, becauſe (2) *all Judg-*

(6) Acts ii. 33.
(7) Rom. viii. 9.
(8) Gal. iv. 6.
(9) Matth. xxviii. 19.
(1) Rom. xv. 16.
(2) See Sect. lxxxv. c, ci, cii.

ment,

ment hath not been *committed* unto him: But as he was undoubtedly ſent, to be our (3) *Comforter*, to *guide us into all Truth*, and to *help our Infirmities*, ſurely we ought to pray to him, to comfort us, and to grant us his Aſſiſtance, that we may *be* (4) *led by him*, and that we may, *of the Spirit, reap Life everlaſting*. And as *the Manifeſtation of the Spirit was given to every Man to profit withal*; and as *to one is given by the Spirit the Word of Wiſdom, and to another, the Word of Knowledge, by the ſame Spirit, dividing to every Man ſeverally as he will*; ſurely it is but reaſonable, that we ſhould apply to that Holy Spirit, who (5) *ſearcheth* in our Hearts *the deep Things of God*, to confer ſuch a Portion of his Influence on our Minds, as may by Degrees (6) *quicken* and *ſtrengthen* us, till we ſhall be at length *filled* therewith. Leſt alſo on the other hand, by neglecting ſo manifeſt a Duty, we ſhould thereby (7) *grieve* and *do* ſuch *deſpite to the Spirit of Grace*, as entirely to *quench* it. See Sect. lxxxiv, lxxxv.

(3) John xiv. 26. John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 26.
(4) Rom. viii. 14. Eph. vi. 8. 1 Cor. xii. 7, &c.
(5) 1 Cor. ii. 10.
(6) 1 Pet. iii. 18. Eph. iii. 16. v. 8.
(7) Eph. iv. 3. Heb. x. 29. 1 Theſſ. v. 9.

CXIV. I apprehend therefore, it is manifeſtly ſhewed in theſe Papers, that, from the Conſideration of the Nature of Spirit, by the Light of Reaſon, it appears, there can be but one God, that is, one ſupreme intelligent Agent; which one God may, however, create an infinite Series of ſpiritual Agents, in Subordination one to another; ſome of which may, by an Authority communicated to them, from the ſupreme God, act *as Gods*, with regard to thoſe inferior Beings who are committed into their Charge. I apprehend it likewiſe appears from the Sentiments of the *Jews*, as well as from the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Teſtament, that this is the Method of Government, which the Almighty hath been pleaſed to purſue in the Oeconomy of this Univerſe; ſtill reſerving to himſelf that incommunicable Quality of *Supreme*, which it would be a Contradiction to ſuppoſe him diveſted of, either with or without his Will; that is, either by his own Conſent, or by Neceſſity.

CXV. It may not therefore be improper to conſider, what was the Opinion of the moſt early Fathers of the Chriſtian Church upon this Head; which though it ought

to

to have no Weight againſt the expreſs Dictates either of Reaſon or Revelation, yet, in Points not fully or diſtinctly revealed, the conſulting of them is very proper and uſeful; as they certainly are the beſt Evidence that can poſſibly be had of the Sentiments of the Church in their Times; and the nearer that thoſe Fathers lived to the Times of the Apoſtles, they may juſtly be ſuppoſed to be the leſs liable to have varied from any of the Doctrines or Practices of the truly primitive Church.

CXVI. Now if we conſult the Opinions of the Fathers upon this Subject, for the firſt three hundred Years after Chriſt, we ſhall find them all univerſally agreeing in the aforementioned Doctrine: As may appear by conſulting *Juſtin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Irenæus*, *the Author of the Recognitions*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Gregory Thaumaturgas*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, &c. out of which it ſeems needleſs to produce any Quotations, as this Point is plainly given up by three of the moſt learned Perſons of the laſt Age; two of whom being of a contrary Opinion from thoſe Fathers, cannot be ſuſpected of lightly giving up a Teſtimony of ſo much Conſequence, if the Flagrancy of the Truth had not obliged them

them to it: And these are the judicious Mr. *Chillingworth*, the learned Bishop *Bull*, and the ingenious Dr. *Cudworth*. The Opinion of Mr. *Chillingworth* is to be found in a Letter of his to a Friend, who desired to know what Judgment might be made of *Arianism*, from the Sense of Antiquity. In answer to which Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote the following Letter: "I was "mistaken in my directing you to *Euse-* "*bius* for the Matter you wott of. You "shall find it in a Witness much farther "from Exception herein than *Eusebius*; "even *Athanasius* himself, the greatest Ad- "versary of that Doctrine; and *Hillary*, "who was his Second. See the first in "*Ep. de Synodis Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 917. "D. *Tom.* 1. *Edit. Par.* 1627. See the "second, *De Synodis*, *fol.* 97. In the first "you shall find that the Eighty Fathers, "which condemned *Samosatenus*, affirmed "expressly — *That the Son is not of the* "*same Essence of the Father.* Which is "to contradict formally the Council of "*Nice*, which decreed *the Son coessential* "*to the Father.* In the Second you shall "find these Words, to the same Purpose: "—*Octoginta Episcopi olim respuerunt* "*Homoousion.* See also, if you please, "*Just. cont. Tryph.* p. 283, 356, 357; "*Tertullian* against *Praxeas*, cap. ix.

"*Novat.*

" *Novat. de Trin. in fine*, who is joined " with *Tertul. Athanaſ. Ep. de fide div.* " *Alex. tom.* i. *p.* 551; *Baſil, tom.* ii. " *p.* 802, 803. *Ed. Par.* 1618. See St. " *Hierom. Apol.* ii. *contra Ruff. tom.* ii. " *p.* 329. *Par.* 1579. See *Petav.* upon " *Epiph.* his *Panar. ad Hæreſ.* 69. *quæ eſt* " *Arii p.* 285. And conſider well how he " clears *Lucian* the Martyr, from *Arianiſm*, " and what he there confeſſes of all the " antient Fathers.

" If you could underſtand *French*, I " would refer you to *Perron*, p. 633, of " his Reply to King *James*; where you " ſhould find theſe Words: *If a Man* " *ſhould demand of an* Arian, *if he would* " *ſubmit to the Judgment of the Church of* " *the Ages precedent to that of* Conſtantine, " *he would make no Difficulty of it; but* " *would preſs himſelf that the Controverſy* " *might be decided by that little which re-* " *mains to us of the Authors of that Time.* " *For an* Arian *would find in* Irenæus, Ter- " tullian, *and others which remain of thoſe* " *Ages, that the Son is the Inſtrument of the* " *Father; that the Father commanded the* " *Son in the Works of Creation; that the* " *Father and the Son are* ALIUD ET " ALIUD, *which Things he that ſhould now* " *hold, now when the Language of the*

" *Church*

" *Church is more examined, would be eſteem-*
" *ed a very* Arian.

" If you read *Bellarmine* touching this
" Matter, you ſhould find that he is trou-
" bled exceedingly to find any tolerable
" Gloſſes for the Speeches of the Fathers
" before the Council of *Nice*, which are
" againſt him; and yet he conceals the
" ſtrongeſt of them, and to counterpoiſe
" them, cites Authors that have indeed
" ancient Names, but ſuch as he himſelf
" has ſtigmatized for ſpurious or doubtful
" in his Book *De Script. Eccleſ.*

" Were I at Leiſure, and had a little
" longer Time, I could refer you to ſome
" that acknowledge *Origen*'s Judgment to
" be alſo againſt them in this Matter. And
" *Fiſher*, in his Anſwer to Dr. *White*'s
" Nine Queſtions, has a Place almoſt pa-
" rallel to the above cited out of *Perron*.

" In a Word, whoſoever ſhall freely and
" impartially conſider of this Thing, and
" how, on the other Side, the antient Fa-
" thers Weapons againſt the *Arians* are in
" a Manner only Places of Scripture, (and
" thoſe now for the moſt Part diſcarded
" as impertinent and unconcluding) and
" how, in the Argument drawn from the

" Authority

" Authority of the ancient Fathers, they " are almoſt always Defendants, and ſcarce " ever Opponents; he ſhall not chooſe, " but confeſs, or at leaſt be very in- " clinable to believe, that the Doctrine of " *Arius* is either a Truth, or at leaſt no " damnable Hereſy (7)."

The Words of Biſhop *Bull*, when ſpeaking of the Sentiments of *Origen* upon this Subject, are theſe: " I conclude thus with " myſelf, that *Origen*, who hath been ſo " ſeverely cenſured by Divines, both an- " cient and modern, was really *Catholick* " in the Article of the ſacred Trinity; al- " though, in the Manner of explaining " that Article, he ſometimes ſpeaks other- " wiſe, than the *Catholics* do; (8) *which* " *is no more than almoſt all the Fathers did* " *who lived before the Council of* Nice." As for Dr. *Cudworth*, he does not only give up the primitive Fathers in their Expreſſions, but alſo in their Meaning. For, as he undoubtedly thought himſelf to be in the Right, he imagined thoſe Fathers to

(7) See the Life of Mr. *Chillingworth*, written by *Des Maizeaux*, p. 51.

(8) Quod ipſi cum reliquis fere omnibus Patribus, qui Concilium Nicænum anteceſſerunt, commune fuit. Bulli *Def. Fid. Nic.* Sect. xi. c. 9. § 22.

have

have been in an Error; and makes uſe of this univerſal Conſent of the ancient Fathers, of the Three firſt Centuries, in aſſerting the Dependence and Subjection of the Son to the Father, as an Argument in Proof of the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers of the Chriſtian Church. For, ſays he, (9) "Though it be true, that "*Athanaſius*, writing againſt the *Arians*, "does appeal to the Tradition of the an- "cient Church, and, among others, cites "*Origen*'s Teſtimony; yet was this only "for the Eternity and Divinity of the Son "of God, but not at all for ſuch an abſolute "Coequality of him with the Father, as "would exclude all *Dependence*, *Subordi-* "*nation*, and *Inferiority:* Thoſe Ancients "ſo unanimouſly agreeing therein, that "they are therefore by *Petavius* taxed with "*Platoniſm*, and having, by that Means, "corrupted the Purity of the Chriſtian "Faith, in this Article of the Trinity. "Which how it can be reconciled with "thoſe other Opinions of Eccleſiaſtical "Tradition being a Rule of Faith, and "the Impoſſibility of the viſible Churches "erring in any fundamental Point, can- "not, ſays he, eaſily be underſtood."

(9) Cud. *Intell. Syſt.* l. i. c. 4. p. 595.

CXVII. For

CXVII. For my own Part, I will readily give up the Fallibility of the primitive Fathers, and whoever will but give himself the Trouble of perusing their Writings, will soon be convinced, that they were fallible Men; and I therefore only make use of their Testimony in this Point, to shew what was the Sense of the Church in their Days, of which their own Writings are an infallible Proof; whether they were fallible in themselves or not.

CXVIII. But *Petavius*, says *Cudworth*, taxed the primitive Fathers with *Platonism*, and with having, by that Means, corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith. That many of the primitive Fathers were bred up in the Schools of the *Platonic* Philosophers can hardly be denied; and that they would be inclined to endeavour to reconcile their own Principles and those of the Christian Religion together, is more than probable. It is also certain, that the *Pagans* held the Doctrine of a *Trinity*, and made use of that Word to express it by; but if it can be proved, that they held a Subordination in the Persons of the *Trinity*, before Christianity appeared in the World, and that all the primitive Christians, whether *Platonists* or not, held also the Doctrine of a Sub-

a Subordination of Power, in the Persons of the *Trinity*, for the first Three hundred Years after *Christ*; then the more probable Consequence to be drawn from thence, is this, That the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the primitive Christians, coinciding with the Doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the *Pagans* in general, and by the *Platonists* in particular, wherein a Subordination of Power between the Three Persons of the Trinity was a fundamental Principle, this might be one main Reason, why the *Platonists* were so ready to embrace the Christian Religion: And not that they corrupted it after they had embraced it; since, had their Principles, and the *Christians* on this Subject originally differed, the *Platonists* would not have been so easily made Converts.

CXIX. It may therefore not be improper at present to set before the Reader a short Sketch of the Doctrine of the *Pagan* Trinity, from whence will appear the Truth of what I have just now asserted.

CXX. The Opinion of the *Egyptians* concerning the Trinity, may be found in *Jamblichus*, who delivers it unto us. For in the Beginning of the Eighth Section, he makes *Porphyry* ask, "What do the *Egyp-*

"*tians*

" *tians* ſay is the *Firſt Cauſe?* Is it Intel-
" lect, or ſomething above Intellect? Or,
" is it one only Being, or is it two, or
" more? Or, is it corporeal, or incorpo-
" real? Or, is it the ſame with the Creator
" of this Univerſe, or ſomething ſuperior?
" In ſhort, were all Things produced by
" *One*, or by Many?" To which *Jamblichus* anſwereth, Πρὸ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῶν ἐστι θεὸς εἷς, πρῶτος καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ θεῷ καὶ βασιλέως, ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἑνότητος μένων, ὅτε γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ἐπιπλέκεσθαι, ὅτε ἄλλο τί. Παράδειγμα δὲ ἱδρῦσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ παντὸς, αὐτογόνῳ, καὶ μονοπάτερος θεῷ, τῷ ὄντως ἀγαθῷ. Μεῖζον γάρ τι καὶ Πρῶτον, καὶ πηγὴ τῶν πάντων, καὶ ῥυθμὸν τῶν νοημένων πρώτων εἰδῶν ὄντων. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς τούτου, ὁ αὐτάρχης θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλαμψε· διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ, καὶ αὐτάρχης. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ θεὸς θεῶν. μονὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς, πρὸ οὐσίας καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς οὐσίας· ἀπ', αὐτοῦ γὰρ οὐσιότης καὶ ἡ οὐσία· διὸ γὰρ νοητάρχης προσαγορεύεται. Αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ πρεσβύταται πάντων, ἃς Ἑρμῆς πρὸ τῶν ἀιθερίων καὶ ἐμπυρίων θεῶν προστάτας, καὶ τῶν ὑπερανίων. Which is thus rendered into *Latin*, by Mr. *Gale*: *Ante eas res quæ vere ſunt, & ante Principia univerſalium, eſt Deus unus, prior etiam primo Deo & Rege; eſt ille immobilis in ſolitudine ſuæ Unitatis permanens, neque enim intellectuale ei miſcetur, neque aliquid aliud, eſtque exemplar ſui ipſius patris, de ſe geniti & unipater Deus; & vere bonus. Eſt enim majus quid & prius, Fons omnium & Radix intelligibilium Idearum primarum Entium. Ab hoc autem uno, Deus*

per

per ſe ſufficiens ſe ipſe explicavit; proinde eſt ſui Pater & ſibi ſufficiens. Eſt enim hic & Principium, & Deus Deorum, Unitas ex uno, ante eſſentiam, & Eſſentiæ Principium; nam ab eo fluit Entitas & Eſſentia, quapropter Noetarcha dicitur. Hæc igitur ſunt Principia omnium antiquiſſima, quæ Mercurius ſupra Deos æthereos & empyreos, & cæleſtes conſtituit.

CXXI. I would have tranſlated this Paſſage into *Engliſh*, if I could; but there are ſome Parts of it, which ſeem to me ſo ſuperintelligible, that I thought it adviſable to give it in the Author's own Words; and refer the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of it to ſome of thoſe Deiſtical Admirers of the Plainneſs and Simplicity of the Religion of Nature, who cannot bear the Thoughts of any thing that is myſterious in Revealed Religion.

CXXII. Abſtruſe and dark however, as it is, we may be furniſhed by it with ſome Light towards the Explanation of ſome Expreſſions in the *Pythagorean* Trinity, as it is given us by (1) *Simplicius*, in his Comment on *Ariſtotle*, out of *Moderatus* the *Pythagorean*: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἓν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὂν καὶ πᾶσαν

(1) Simpl. in *Phyſ. Ariſt.* fol. 50.

ἀφ' οἵας

οὐσίαν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἓν ὅπερ ἐστι τὸ ὄντως ὂν, καὶ νοητὸν, τὰ εἴδη φησὶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἐστι ψυχικὸν, μετέχειν τε ἑνὸς, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν. For it is plain that the πρῶτον ἓν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὂν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν, of the *Pythagoreans*, that is, *the First One who is above Being and all Exiſtence*, is the ſame (I had almoſt ſaid *Being*) with that God of the *Egyptians*, who being prior to the Firſt God, is *Super-Intelligible*. That the τὸ δεύτερον ἓν ὅπερ ἐστι τὸ ὄντως ὂν, καὶ νοητὸν, τὰ εἴδη φησὶν εἶναι. That is, *the Second One who is Exiſtence itſelf, and Intelligence, and is called* IDEA, is that Firſt, or rather Second God aforementioned, who, according to the *Egyptians*, having unfolded himſelf, came forth into Being, and was ſelf-begotten, and was equally his own Father and his own Son, who is the Principle of all Exiſtence, and of all Intelligence. As to the τὸ τρίτον ἓν, or *Third One*, of the *Pythagoreans*, which they call Ψυχικὸν, or *Animal*, that anſwers to the third and lower Claſs of the Empyrean and Ætherial Deities, who were ſuppoſed to preſide over ſeveral Parts of this Univerſe, being as it were the Souls of this World.

CXXIII. The *Platonic* Trinity, as it was digeſted into Form by the Diſciples of *Plato*, was not very different from this. There is indeed no one Paſſage in *Plato*, where

where his Notion of a Deity is delivered explicitly, and reduced into a regular System. For, either, out of Fear of his Countrymen, or because he was not settled in his own Notions, or both, he speaks very obscurely on this Subject. That Treatise which he entitles *Timæus*, is the most copious on this Head, and therein he speaks plainly of (2) one sempiternal and unoriginated God. Which God, says *Plato*, when he reasoned within himself about a future God, made this Universe, and placed this (3) perfectly happy God which he begat, as the Soul in the Middle of it.

CXXIV. Which God though he frequently mentions as a created Being, yet he styles him also (4) *the* Image *of Intelligence*, or of the most intelligent God; *the greatest and best*; *the most beautiful, and the most perfect*, and *the only-begotten God*. Which Universe, says *Plato*, when he had thus made and (5) contemplated, he re-

(2) τὸ ὂν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον.

(3) εὐδαίμονα θεὸν ἀυτὸν ἐγεννήσαλο.

(4) Εἰκόνα τῦ νοηλῦ, μέγιςον κ᾽ ἄριςον, κάλλιςον κ᾽ τελειώταλον, and μονογενῆ.

(5) Whoever reads this, I think, cannot avoid being convinced that *Plato* herein imitates the Account which *Moses* gives of the Creation, which he signifies with saying, *And God saw every Thing that he had made, and behold it was very good*, Gen. i. 31.

joiced over it. He then made *Time*, and (6) formed the Sun and Moon, and five other Planets, to be the Measures thereof. But as there were yet no Animals, therefore God formed what was wanting, by *a secondary Imitation of the first Exemplar*: πρὸς τὴν τῦ παραδείγματος ἀπόλυπέμενος φύσιν. Which is plainly borrowed from that Doctrine among the *Jews*, wherein they asserted Man not to be made in the Image of the Supreme God, but of the Second God. The Words of *Philo Judæus*, as they are quoted by *Eusebius*, are, θνητὸν γὰρ ὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνώλατω κ) παλέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύναλο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεὸν, ὃς ἐκείνυ λόγος. *Nihil enim mortale in summi illius & rerum universarum Parentis imaginem consignari potest, sed in imaginem Secundi Dei, hoc est, ejus Verbi, potest.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. cap. 13.

CXXV. *Plato* then, in compliance with the orthodox Notion of his Country, and for Fear of the Fate of *Socrates*, says, But as to other Gods which are called (7) *Dæmons*, to speak properly of their Origin, or even to conceive it, is above the Reach of our Faculties;

(6) Ἥλιος κ) Σελήνη, κ) πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα, ἐπίκλην ἔχοντα Πλάνητες, εἰς διορισμὸν κ) φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνυ γέγονεν. See Gen. i. 14; of which this is almost a Translation.

(7) See Sect. xxxv.

ties; it is therefore our Duty to believe those our Ancestors, who, having unfolded their Natures, affirm them to be the Offspring of the Gods; and so to submit ourselves to the ancient Laws and Customs. And then he introduces the God who (8) framed all Things, as speaking to these Demons, *Saturn*, *Ops*, *Jupiter*, &c. whom he calls (9) the Gods begotten by himself; and empowers them to be his Instruments in the Production of Animals, and (1) to imitate that Virtue which he had exercised in their Origin.

CXXVI. Whence it is plain, that *Plato* was afraid to speak out; but his Disciples, by degrees, gathering Courage, his System was reduced into Form, before the Time of (2) *Porphyry*, who, in his Fourth Book of the History of Philosophy, says, Ἄχρι γὰρ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἔφη Πλάτων, την τοῦ θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τον μέν ἀνώταλον θεόν τ' Ἀγαθὸν, μετ' αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιουργὸν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν. *Usque ad tres* Hypostases, *dicit* Plato, *Dei*

(8) Ὃς τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας.

(9) Τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γεννήμασι.

(1) Μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμῶν γέννεσιν.

(2) *Porphyry* flourished about the latter End of the third Century. His Books were afterwards ordered to be burnt; but the Quotation which I have here produced may be found in St. *Cyril*'s Treatise against *Julian*, B. viii.

progredi Essentiam; *& esse quidem dicit* Deum summe bonum; *post illum autem secundum* Conditorem; *tertium autem* Mundi Animam.

CXXVII. *Porphyry* was reckoned the most learned *Platonist* of his Age; and flourished about the Time when the consubstantial Doctrine of the Trinity began to make a Noise; and therefore his Sense of the *Platonic* Doctrine, is so much the more for our Purpose. It appears therefore from hence, that the *Platonic* and *Pythagorean* Doctrine of the Trinity, did not differ very widely at this Time one from the other, and that That God of the *Egyptians*, which was prior to the first, or the Πρῶτον ἓν of the *Pythagoreans* was the same with the τὸ ἓν, and the τὸ ἀγαθὸν of the *Platonists*. The God of *Existence*, *Ideas*, or *Intelligence*, according to the *Egyptians*, or the τὸ δεύτερον ἓν of the *Pythagoreans*, which they also called εἶδη, *Idea*, being by the *Platonists* called νοῦς and λόγος; i. e. *Mind* and *Reason*, or *Wisdom*. And the inferior Class of ætherial Deities, who were considered as the Soul of the World, among the *Egyptians*, answering to the τρίτον ἓν or the ἓν Ψυχικὸν of the *Pythagoreans*, being called Ψυχὴ, i. e. *the Soul*, by the *Platonists*.

CXXVIII. They

CXXVIII. They agreed also in the Offices which were assigned to these *Three Gods*. For the first was asserted to be ὑπὲρ, *above* all Existence and Intelligence. The Second God was Existence and Intelligence itself, and the Communicator of them to other Beings: He is therefore represented by them as the Δημιουργὸς, the *Fabricator*, and Maker of this Frame of the Universe. The Third God, who is said to partake both of the First and Second Ἕν, or God, was held to be *the Soul* of the World, vivifying and enlivening it.

CXXIX. Hence it is plain, however, that the Disciples of *Plato* had varied from their Master's Plan. Because he positively asserts the one unoriginated God to have made this Universe, and therefore frequently calls him the (3) Δημιουργός. He likewise positively asserts the Second, that is, the God who was begotten by the one unoriginated God, to have been placed by him in the Middle of this round Universe, as (4) *the Soul* of it.

CXXX. It is nevertheless manifest, beyond all Controversy, that both *Plato* and

(3) Plato in *Timæo*. (4) Id. ibid.

his Disciples held a Kind of essential Subordination to have existed between these Gods, as the *Hebrews* undoubtedly did. And therefore I suppose them to have been more easily converted to the *Christian* Religion than they otherwise would have been.

CXXXI. And accordingly, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, one of those primitive Fathers whom *Cudworth* allows to have acknowledged a Subordination in the Persons of the Trinity, when speaking concerning a Passage in *Plato*, says, (5) "*I understand* "*this no otherwise, than that the holy Tri-* "*nity is signified thereby, the* THIRD *being* "*the Holy Spirit, and the* SECOND *the Son,* "*by whom all Things were made, according* "*to the Will of the* FATHER." This Passage, to which *Clemens* refers, is to be found in the second Epistle of *Plato* to *Dionysius*, on account of his having complained, that *Plato* was not explicit enough in what he said about the *First Cause*; to whom *Plato* says, "That these Things "must be spoken of in a kind of *Riddle*; "that if any Accident should happen to "these Papers, either by Land or Sea, he "that finds them may not be able to un-

(5) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 710. edit. Pot.

"derstand

" derſtand them. The Thing therefore, " ſays he, ſtands thus : Περὶ τῶν πάντων βασιλέα " πάντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἕνεκα πάντα. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄριστον ἁπάντων " τῶν καλῶν. δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ " τὰ τρίτα." *Circa omnium Regem ſunt omnia, & illius Cauſa omnia : & ipſe eſt omnium rerum pulchrarum Cauſa : Secundum ad Secunda, Tertium ad Tertia.* Which Fear of a Diſcovery accounts for the ſeeming Contradictions in *Plato*, and the Darkneſs in which his Theology is involved, and ſhews that his Diſciples were indeed obliged to pick his Doctrine out of *Riddles*, as he himſelf expreſſeth it.

CXXXII. But (6) St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who was of the contrary Opinion from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that is, who held a Coequality in the Perſons of the Trinity, for he lived in the fifth Century, and about 100 Years after the Council of *Nice*, wherein the Conſubſtantiality of the Father and the Son was firſt eſtabliſhed in the *Chriſtian* Church ; *Cyril*, I ſay, when ſpeaking of the *Platonic* Philoſophy (7), ſays, " There would have been nothing at all " wanting to the *Platonic* Trinity, for an " abſolute Agreement of it with the *Chri-* " *ſtian*, had they but accommodated the

6) Cyril *cont. Jul.* lib. viii. (7) Idem ibid.

" right Notion of *Conſubſtantiality* to their " three *Hypoſtaſes*; ſo that there might " have been but one ſpecific Nature or " Eſſence of the Godhead, not diſtinguiſh- " able by any natural Diverſity, and ſo " no one *Hypoſtaſis* any way inferior or " ſubordinate to another."

CXXXIII. As for the Doctrine of the *three Hypoſtaſes*, which is here mentioned by *Cyril*, that was not the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, but was the Doctrine of the *Arians*, as well as of the *Platoniſts*. It was indeed afterwards adopted by ſome of the *Conſubſtantialiſts*, and was inſerted in that Creed which goes under the Name of *Athanaſius*, but which could not poſſibly have been written by him, becauſe he, as well as the reſt of the *Nicene* Fathers, inſiſted upon it, that there was but (8) *one Hypoſtaſis* in the Trinity, any more than one *Uſia*, ſince they, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Platoniſts*, ſuppoſed thoſe two Words to mean one and the ſame thing;

(8) *Athanaſius*, in his Treatiſe on the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, [vol. i. p. 934.] which was written towards the latter End of his Life, poſitively aſſerts: Ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαινόμενον ἔχει. *Hypoſtaſis enim* [*idem cum* Usia] *ſubſtantia eſt, nec aliam ſignificationem habet.* And to the ſame Purpoſe in ſeveral other Places.

in

in which however they were certainly so far in the right. For the Word οὐσία literally signifies a *Being*, or *Existence*; and the Word ὑπόστασις literally signifies a *Subsistence*, or *Substance*; which hath been shewed in the (9) Beginning of this Treatise, to be the same with a *Being*, or *Existence*. And accordingly, the *Greek* Word οὐσία is generally translated by the *Latin* Word *Substantia*. (1) *Socrates*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, who lived after *Cyril*, and was a very zealous *Consubstantialist*, when giving his Opinion concerning the Meaning of the Word ὑπόστασις, says, "that "this Word, according to *Irenæus*, was a "barbarous Word; and was not to be "found among the ancient Authors. But, "says *Socrates*, it is used by *Sophocles*, to "signify a *Trap* or *Pit-fall*, to catch any "thing in; and by *Menander* to signify "the Sediment of any thing; as for Ex-"ample, if any one should call the *Lees* "of Wine which fall to the Bottom, an "*Hypostasis*. But though this Word was "not used by the more ancient Philoso-"phers, yet, says he, you must under-"stand that the Moderns make use of it "instead of οὐσία." To say therefore that

(9) See Sect. ii.
(1) Socrat. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 7.

the three Perſons in the Trinity are *one Uſia* and *three Hypoſtaſes*, is the ſame thing as to ſay, that they are *one Subſtance* and *three Subſtances* at the ſame time; which I take to be a Contradiction in Terms, and therefore cannot be affirmed even of God himſelf.

CXXXIV. For when it is ſaid, in the *Nicene* Creed, that the Son is (2) ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, *of the Subſtance of the Father*, and that he is ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, *of one Subſtance* with the Father, it is not meant thereby that he is of one and the ſame kind of Subſtance with the Father, but that he is actually one and the ſame *undivided* Subſtance with the Father. Wherein then, you will ſay, does the Difference conſiſt? Why, according to *Cyril*, *not in any natural Diverſity*, but *numerically only*; that is, in being ſaid to be *three* Subſtances, at the ſame time that they are but *one* Subſtance.

CXXXV. I am very ſenſible that in our *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Creed commonly called the *Athanaſian Creed*, we have followed the Church of *Rome*, whoſe Infalli-

(2) This is omitted out of our *Engliſh* Copy of the *Nicene* Creed, though it was undoubtedly in the original *Greek*.

bility

bility can give what Signification it pleaſes to Words, in rendering the Word Ὑπόστασις, by the *Engliſh* Word *Perſon*, that Church having rendered it by the *Latin* Word *Perſona*. But let us ſee whether this will mend the Matter, which we ſhall find it does not, unleſs we make uſe of a ſhameful kind of Equivocation, by uſing the Word *Perſon* in two different Senſes, or rather in no Senſe at all. For that the Word *Perſon* is capable of two different Senſes being put upon it is very plain; thus it is ſometimes made uſe of to denote, *that identical Perſonality, whereby any one intelligent Agent is diſtinguiſhed from any other intelligent Agent*. As for Example, when it is ſaid, *Numb.* v. 6, 7. "When a Man or "Woman ſhall commit any Sin that Men "commit, to do a Treſpaſs againſt the "Lord, and that *Perſon* be guilty; then "they ſhall confeſs their Sin which they "have done," &c. In this Place the Word *Perſon* is here put to denote the Man or Woman who was guilty of the Treſpaſs: And can never ſignify any other Man or Woman, but the offending one only; nor any more Perſons than thoſe that were guilty. According to which Senſe of the Word, every ſeparate Perſon muſt be conſidered as a ſeparate intelligent Agent, and every ſeparate intelligent Agent muſt be

conſidered

conſidered as a ſeparate Perſon from every other intelligent Agent, and will for ever, if he exiſts ſo long, be the ſame Perſon he was, whether he repents or not, whether he is young or old; or whether he exiſts in this World or in the next. And it would be a Contradiction in Terms to ſay, that this one Perſon is two different Perſons, or that two different Perſons is this ſame Perſon; for hence it is that the common Expreſſion takes its Riſe, when, ſpeaking of any one Man, we ſay, this is the very *individual* Perſon, who did ſuch or ſuch a Fact, becauſe, if he could be *divided*, he would be no longer the ſame Perſon.

CXXXVI. But in this Senſe of the Word, the *Conſubſtantialiſts* will not allow the Word *Perſon* to be applied to the three Perſons in the Trinity, becauſe this would make them as much three ſeparate Beings, as *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, are three ſeparate Men: And would contradict the *Homoouſian* Doctrine, which ſuppoſes the three Perſons of the Trinity to be one *undivided* Subſtance, or, as *Cyril* expreſſeth it, *one ſpecific Nature*, or *Eſſence*.

CXXXVII. Sometimes however this Word *Perſon* is made uſe of to denote only

only the Relation which one intelligent Agent bears to another; or the distinguishing Mark of his Character, whereby he is to be known from other intelligent Agents, or even from himself, either at different Times, or in different Circumstances. In which Sense of the Word the same individual Person, or intelligent Agent, may be considered as twenty different Persons all at the same Time. For thus the same intelligent Agent may be considered in the Person of a King, of a General, of an Ally, of a Philosopher, of a Father, or of a Son, of an Husband, or of a Batchelor, of an old Man, or of a young Man, *&c. &c.* For, says *Stephens*, in his *Latin Thesaurus*, Persona *significat qualitatem eam qua homo differt ab homine, tum in anima, tum in corpore, tum in extra positis; quæ a Rhetoricis annumerantur in* Attributis *Personæ: ut, Hector ad Priamum Persona Filii est; ad Astyanactem Persona Patris; ad Andromachem Persona Mariti; ad Paridem Persona Fratris; ad Sarpedonem Amici; ad Achillem Persona Inimici.* In which Sense of the Word it is that that Expression must be understood, when *Moses* saith of God, that he (3) *regardeth not Persons*, by which is meant, not that God regardeth

(3) Deut. x. 17. Matth. xxii. 16. Mark xii. 14.

not

not Mankind, as they are so many intelligent Agents, but that he doth not respect Men on account of their personal Circumstances, or Characters, or Figure, or Relation in Life: But neither will the *Consubstantialists* allow this Interpretation of the Word *Person* to be applied to the three Persons in the Trinity, so to be understood as if they were only three different Personages, or Characters, or Attributes, of the same Being; because that would be manifest *Sabellianism*, and would not allow any real Existence to any of them but one.

CXXXVIII. And though they say that one of these Persons is the *Father*, and the other the *Son*; they will not allow one to be prior or posterior to the other; but declare them both to be coequal and coeternal, which is by no means consistent with the Relation that there is between Father and Son: For though the Relation between two coequal coeternal Beings might bear some Analogy to the Denomination of *Brothers*, yet it seems absolutely inconsistent with that of Father and Son.

CXXXIX. But in order to conduct us a little further into the Knowledge of this Affair, it may be proper to inquire into the

the Reasons which seem to have led the Compilers of the *Nicene* Creed into this Determination of the Consubstantiality of the Father and Son.

CXL. The Doctrine of *Arius*, was, that *the Son being begotten of the Father before all Times and all Ages, subsisted only through the Will of the Father: But that he was not eternal, that is, coeternal with the Father; nor did he come into Existence along with the Father.*

CXLI. In order to refute which Doctrine, the *Nicene* Bishops composed a Creed, wherein they asserted the Son to be *of the Substance of the Father*, and *consubstantial with the Father*; and at the End of the Creed annexed these three Anathemas, or damnatory Clauses: (4) τὰς δὲ λέγουσας ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκουσαι εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἁγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. *But they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not, and that he did not exist before he was begotten: Or that say, he was begotten out of nothing: Or that say, he existed out of any other* Hypostasis, *or* Usia, *than the Father; or was created, or*

(4) Socrat. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 8.

is liable to Mutation or Change, the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church anathematises.

CXLII. From whence it may be observed in the first Place, that these Fathers understood the Words *Usia* and *Hypostasis* in the same Sense, so as to mean one and the same thing; and that as the Son was of the same undivided, or individual *Usia*, so was he also the same undivided or individual *Hypostasis* with the Father. And possibly this may be the Reason why these Anathemas are omitted out of our present *Nicene* Creed; because they contradict in Terms the *Athanasian* Creed, which asserts, that "there is one *Hypostasis* of "the Father, and another of the Son, and "another of the Holy Spirit."

CXLIII. But it does not seem so easy to explain what is meant by the first Anathema: *Cursed be they who say, There was a Time when the Son was not; and that he did not exist before he was begotten.* However, if it means any thing, it must be this; that whereas the *Arians* asserted, that the Son was begotten before all Time, and before all Ages, nevertheless they asserted, that although they would allow he might, upon that account, in some Sense be called eternal; yet that the Son could not be co-

eternal

eternal with the Father, becauſe the Begetter muſt have exiſted before the Begotten. In order therefore to invalidate the Force of this Argument, and make the Son nevertheleſs coeternal with the Father, the *Nicene* Biſhops, ſince they could not deny but the Begetter muſt have exiſted before the Begotten, ſeemed to have framed this Anathema, wherein they aſſert, in Imitation of *Irenæus*, and ſome few other metaphyſical Writers, that the Son did exiſt before he was begotten: That is, that he did potentially exiſt in the Subſtance of the Father, out of which he was afterwards begotten.

CXLIV. And this is the Reaſon why they likewiſe anathematiſed, in the ſecond Place, thoſe who ſhould ſay, that the Son was *begotten out of nothing*, in order to eſtabliſh the following Doctrine of the Son being begotten out of the Subſtance of the Father; which Subſtance being undoubtedly coeternal with the Father, therefore the Son, who virtually (5) or potentially exiſted in it, muſt, according to their Method of Reaſoning, alſo be coeternal.

(5) Δυνάμει ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγεννήτως, *Potentia erat in Patre ingenita quadam ratione.* Theod. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12.

CXLV. But

CXLV. But, with humble Submiſſion to ſuch great Authority, this Aſſertion abſolutely deſtroys the modern favourite Doctrine of the eternal Generation of the Son: Becauſe that although it ſhould be allowed that the Son might poſſibly have virtually ſubſiſted from all Eternity, in the Subſtance, or Mind, of the Father, as every thing did, that either hath exiſted, or ever will exiſt, yet I ſuppoſe it a Contradiction in Terms to ſay, that he exiſted, as a Son, till he was begotten. And therefore that the *Nicene* Fathers have anathematiſed all ſuch as will not affirm a (6) Contradiction.

CXLVI. And I cannot help ſaying, it is ſomething odd to have theſe two Creeds eſtabliſhed in the ſame Church, in one of which thoſe are declared to be *accurſed*, who deny the Son to be of the ſame *Uſia*, or *Hypoſtaſis*, with the Father: and in the other, it is declared, *they cannot be ſaved* who do not aſſert, that (7) *there is one Hypoſtaſis of the Father, and another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghoſt.*

(6) For the Aſſertions of the *Arians* were ἦν ποτὲ, ὅτε ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ ἦν, &c. That *there was* (a Time) *when* THE SON *was not*, &c. Athan. vol. i. p. 97.

(7) *Athanaſian Creed.*

CXLVII. But,

CXLVII. But, in order to obviate all these Objections, it is thought sufficient by some, to say, that there are many Powers in the divine Nature, which human Beings are not capable of comprehending. Nay, so far are we Mortals from being able to comprehend the Divine Nature, that we know very little of the Things which are on Earth; that there is not one of all the various Things which surround us, that does not contain something in its Frame and Constitution, which is beyond the Abilities of the most subtile Philosopher to explain.

CXLVIII. Be it so —— Let us then acknowledge the narrow Limits of the human Understanding; which, I think, nobody, who looks within himself, can be without sensibly seeing and feeling: But then let us not turn such violent Sceptics, as to assert, that, because we do not know every thing, therefore we know nothing; that because we cannot see by Night as well as by Day, therefore we must not believe our own Eyes, even when the Sun shines directly over our Heads.

CXLIX. I shall therefore take it for granted, that there are some Truths in Nature, that are level to our Understandings, and that we may pronounce with some

ſome Degree of Certainty, for Example, that two and two make four; and that it is a Contradiction in Terms to ſay, that the ſame individual Subſtance, whether ſpiritual or corporeal, *can be*, and *not be*, at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Place. Now if the Knowledge of theſe Propoſitions is within the Reach of our Underſtanding, then we may ſafely affirm, if the Father and Son are *conſubſtantial*, that is, if the Subſtance of the Father be the ſame undivided Subſtance with the Son; and that the Subſtance of the Son did enter into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, and became incarnate; that then it will follow, of Conſequence, that the Subſtance of the Father did enter into the Virgin's Womb, and was incarnate alſo. Since otherwiſe, one and the ſame individual Subſtance may be, and not be, at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Place.

CL. Again, if this Propoſition be taken for granted, which may be found *totidem Verbis*, in the *Athanaſian* Creed, that *as the reaſonable Soul and Fleſh is one Man, ſo God and Man is one* Chriſt; and if this other Propoſition be allowed, which may be found as explicitly in the Scriptures, that this one (8) *Chriſt ſuffered* for the Sins of

(8) Heb. ix. 28. 1 Pet. ii. 21. iii. 18.

Mankind;

Mankind; then it must follow, of Consequence, that *Christ* suffered in his Godhead, as well as his Humanity; since otherwise it would have been the Man *Jesus*, and not *Jesus* the *Messiah*, or *Christ*, that suffered for the Sins of Men.

CLI. Now as the Consideration of these Things is, so far at least, within the Reach of our Capacities, if we suppose the Premisses aforementioned to be true, which the *Consubstantialists* will hardly deny; the Conclusions, which they will not allow, are, nevertheless, as demonstrably true, as any Proposition in the Mathematics.

CLII. But let us go a little further, and suppose, for the present, that these Things were above our Comprehension; and then I should be glad to be informed of the Reasons why those very Persons who roar so loud against the vain Attempts of Men, in scrutinizing *the Things which belong unto Heaven*, should take upon them to explain those Doctrines, which they themselves declare to be above the Reach of human Understandings.

CLIII. When the *Papists* want to persuade Men out of their Senses, and to prevail upon *Protestants* to acknowledge the absurd Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, they

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are very ample and florid in their Declamations upon the Immensity and Incomprehensibleness of God and his Attributes; and upon the Minuteness and Insufficiency of human Abilities; and are always setting forth, in the strongest Terms, how little we know, and how much we are ignorant. And therefore, say they, since our Saviour hath said, *This is my Body, and this is my Blood*, we ought to believe it to be so, though we could not comprehend the Manner how.

CLIV. All which would be undoubtedly right, and true, if they were to go no further. But if what they say be true, about the Weakness of human Understandings, how came they to have Abilities for explaining those Mysteries, which the rest of Mankind are so unequal to the Inquiry into? Why do they pretend to say, that this Mystery consists in a *Transubstantiation* of the Elements, when there is no such Word in the Scriptures?

CLV. And since it must be undoubtedly acknowledged, that the Belief in any Mystery can be no further required as necessary to Salvation, than in proportion as that Mystery is revealed; if this be a Mystery, surely they ought to leave it as they found it, and not presume to explain

plain that which they declare to be inexplicable.

CLVI. And is not this Method of Reasoning as strong, with regard to *Consubstantiation*, as *Transubstantiation?* It certainly is. And therefore when the *Protestants* argue against the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, the *Papists* never fail objecting the equal Incredibility of a *consubstantial* Trinity.

CLVII. The Doctrine of the Trinity is as certainly revealed in the 19th Verse of the xxviiith Chapter of St. *Matthew*, as the Doctrine of the *Eucharist* is, in the 26th Verse of the xxvith Chapter of the same Evangelist: But the Scriptures are as silent about the *Consubstantiality* of the one, as about the *Transubstantiation* of the other. Whence then came the Revelation of these wonderful Doctrines? Why! both originally from the same Oracle; from the Papal Chair.

CLVIII. I think it therefore incumbent on those *Protestant* Bishops, who hold the Doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, to inform us of the Reasons why the Infallibility of the Pope must be acknowledged in one of these Instances, and not in the other. And why, if their Eyes are sufficient

cient to let them see, as well as the Pope, that the three Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are one coeternal, coequal, and undivided Substance, when we undertake to argue against it, they should say to us, Ye are blind! ye are blind! Or, why if we are blind, though they are not, this metaphysical Dispute should be made a Part of the public Service of the Church, which is an Assembly composed, not only of quick-sighted Philosophers, but of the lowest of the People, who are required there to give their Assent to these equivocal, if not contradictory, Interpretations of Scripture, under the Penalty of eternal Damnation; and to declare, that *every one who doth not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, without doubt shall perish everlastingly*; and that *this is the Catholic Faith, which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

CLIX. I shall accordingly expect some of the Right Reverend Members of the *Protestant* Church of *Ireland*, either to account for this, or to exonerate their Consciences, by joining in an humble Remonstrance against it: And I do promise, if any of them shall deign to honour this *Treatise* with an Answer, that if it pleaseth God to spare my Life, it shall speedily be followed, either by a Recantation or a Reply.

FINIS.